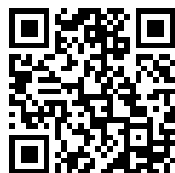

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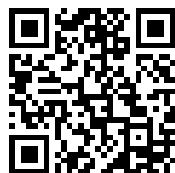
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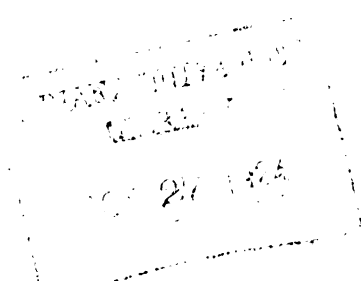
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LOCRIIS AND EARLY GREEK CIVILIZATION¹

By W. A. OLDFATHER

University of Illinois

Intellectual capacity of a high order was widespread among the ancient Greeks. Not alone in their oldest settlements in and about the central and southern Aegean Sea did almost every little valley and hamlet and isle produce some man who contributed substantially to the national accomplishment, but even in their far-flung colonies new torches were lit. From Massilia and Elea and Agrigentum to the Borysthenes, the Cydnus, and the Nile, the very roll of the Greek settlements is suggestive of that long roster of distinguished Greeks and half-Greeks who engaged in a notable rivalry of intellectual endeavor with the mother country; yes, even of foreigners inoculated with the ferment of their spirit and entering the lists of achievement as no mean competitors, men who but for the touching of their lips with coals from the altar of Greece must have stagnated in effortless barbarism. And it is in the power to arouse others to action and imitation that I see one of the most admirable features of the Greek genius. It is a rare thing for a gifted nation to be constantly putting forth fruit; it is a yet rarer thing, and Greek civilization stands thereby in marked contrast with the blighting influences of many others, when by virtue of mere proximity, as with Aaron's rod in the tabernacle, a dry and handworn staff is made to bring forth buds and bloom blossoms and yield almonds.

It is, therefore, a serious error to think of Greek achievement as being to any degree markedly restricted to the population of a small area or a few cities, famous though these may have been his-

¹ Since this paper was composed as a lecture, it has been impossible to give references to the work of modern scholars, to many of whom, especially perhaps Crusius, Bethe, Beloch, Busolt, Eduard Meyer, Gruppe, Pöhlmann, Orsi, Allen, von Wilamowitz, Girard, Heyne, and Smyth, I have been much indebted.

torically. And so I wish to turn your attention for a little while to one of the humbler peoples of Greece, and to one of its tiniest cantons, a land without even a great central city, yet not, I believe, without its peculiar contributions to Greek culture, even though the gifts be in large measure anonymous.

The earliest Locrians were clearly of the Aeolic stock, or rather, spoke that dialect. This is certain not only from the Locrian sources of much of the colonization of Aeolis in Asia Minor, but also from the Aeolic elements embedded in the general Northwest Greek dialect which the Locrians of historic times spoke. The history of Locris is then quite the same as that of her larger neighbors Thessaly and Boeotia, where a highly developed Aeolic civilization connected in myth with the pre-Doric settlements from Magnesia to Aegina was partly driven across the sea, partly merged with the latest Greek immigrants, those namely who spoke the Northwest Greek dialect. It is in this movement across the sea that Locrians first touch Greek civilization in one of its most important developments — the Homeric poems.²

It will be generally conceded, I trust, that the epic of Troy is founded on historical fact, that namely of long continued and desultory struggles of Aeolic Greeks to gain a footing in the valley of the Scamander, which was dominated by the stout burg Troy. Even when the city finally fell, the natives of the district were by no means exterminated but merely retired a short distance up the Scamander (like the Lycians in the upper valley of the Xanthus, or the Lydians in that of the Hermus), where, on the slopes of Ida and contemporary with the Homeric rhapsodes, there long maintained themselves princes who claimed descent through Aeneas and Anchises from the ancient house of Tros and Dardanus.

The Locrians were in the thick of this Aeolic emigration. An old proverb, "The Melian Vessel," seems to hint at this, telling how the people along the Melian gulf, practically half of whose coast line is Locrian, on refusing to emigrate by sea, were cursed with leaky boats and the domination of women. Now the only peo-

² What I am presenting is a condensed summary of studies in the history of Locris and things Locrian that runs back over twenty years, considerable parts of which have already been published in various journals and in the new revision of Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, where the evidence for every statement is completely set forth. Much, however, of my discussion of Locris and the Homeric poems is not yet in print, but the evidence for it deserves, I believe, to be presented, and will be ere long, I trust, when I am more fully satisfied about some of the numerous ramifications of fact and theory connected therewith.

ple in this part of Greece who to any degree observed matriarchy, or better "mother-kinship," were precisely the East Locrians, and, though the present proverb speaks of a failure on this particular occasion to emigrate, it is clear that it indirectly testifies to well known migrations from this point; a people is not apt to be specially cursed for not doing what was quite unusual or unexpected. Besides, a large part of the old Aeolic littoral in Greece was Locrian territory, and in a general migration across the sea it is inconceivable that the Locrians did not have a prominent part. Many links connect Locris with Lesbos, where Macar or Macareus, the founder and king, a son of Aeolus, is father of Amphissa, eponym of the West Locrian city, and grandfather of Locrus and Thebe, the latter eponym of the Thebe beneath Mt. Placus on the Adrammytian Gulf. Also at home in Lesbos was Trambelus, brother of the Telamonian Aias — and I pause here to remark, that, if anything in mythological studies can be accepted as established, it is the original identity of the two figures which bear the name Aias, and that the principal center of their cult and myth was in East Locris. Irus of Lesbos belongs with the Ireis of Oeta, and the extremely rare woman's name Briseis appears only in Lesbos and West Locris. Canae on the Asiatic coast due east of Lesbos was a Locrian colony, and, what is even more important, Cyme itself, the metropolis of Aeolis, and its daughter city Larisa Phriconis, were settled principally from Locris, although, of course, in so large a place the inhabitants came from many different communities. In Aeolis also Teucus, the eponym of the Teuceri of Asia Minor, is made a half-brother of the Telamonian Aias, Trambelus again, another representative of the pre-Hellenic population, his own brother, and Hesione, literally, "the woman of Asia," his mother; while the Locrian Aias is made the father of Sagaris, a name probably related to that of the great river Sangarios of this quarter of Asia Minor, although it has come down to us only in connection with an obscure myth of one of the western colonies. In other words, the Aias figure is more intimately connected with the Aeolic colonization of Asia Minor than that of any other of the heroes who appear in the Trojan epic, not even excepting Achilles.

We have already seen that Hypoplacian Thebe was connected with Locris, if not directly, at least through the Locrians on Lesbos. But more than that, Assos also, the fortress for the farmers of the upper Satnioeis valley was probably a Locrian settlement. Now the singular name of this fortress which the Athenian tribute lists

spell indifferently 'Ησσός or 'Ησσός occurs elsewhere only in West Locris (and doubtfully in Phocis), strangely enough with that same uncertainty in the aspirate, which seems to have been rather characteristic of the Locrian dialect. Again, in the *Iliad* the Locrian Aias kills Satnios, almost certainly an echo of old battles in which the Hero-God of the Locrians kills the defender of the Satnioeis valley, precisely as the Telamonian Aias kills Simoeisios, the man of the valley of the little stream Simoeis which flows between Troy and the coast, close by the burial mound of Aias on the strand where he was worshipped, and the promontory Rhoeteum, where the Achaeans probably secured their first firm foothold for the war upon Troy.

This brings us to Troy itself. Here I believe it was Locrians who made the first attempt to gain a foothold upon the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont, who drew up their Viking ships on the strand, built a stockade about them, fought desperately at first to maintain themselves there, and then later, when fortified at Rhoeteum, carried on a long harrying warfare, like that of the Aeolians at Neon Teichos against Larisa, of the Athenians at Sphacteria against Sparta, or of the Spartans at Decelea against Athens, until after years, and perhaps even decades, of raid and ambush and cattle-drive, crop-burning, kidnaping, and murder, one night by stealth or treachery the Locrians and their associates from the coast captured and with fire and sword destroyed the ancient citadel of Priam; and finally, that out of the rude heroic songs of the early days, when the ship-stockade and the fortress of Mycenaean Troy still faced each other in deadly enmity, there arose a cycle of epic tales, beginning as far back as the thirteenth or twelfth century B. C., which Homer, his contemporaries, and successors, with the intermingling of many diverse elements and the inclusion of many a figure originally developed in a different context, elaborated into the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the other epics of the Trojan Cycle.

This conclusion I base primarily upon the following facts or contentions:

1. That the Aias figure, the most primitive among all the Achaean heroes before Troy, is most closely connected with what must be the ancient and fundamental elements of the historical situation, the fighting about the ships and the stockade.

2. That the father of the specifically Locrian Aias, as distinct from the Telamonian (who represents this same Hero-God partly in a sort of synthesis of myth as developed in the traditions of

Megara, Salamis, Aegina, and Aeolis), bears a name, Vileus — Oileus — Ileus, which is etymologically identical with Ilios or Ilion, which, in distinction from Troy, is apparently the name that the Greeks gave to the hill and the settlement thereon in the historical period. The Locrian Aias is, therefore, identified in this way as no other hero with the site of Troy after its capture.

3. The Locrians are the only folk whose common people are described in the *Iliad* as taking part in the battle, armed only with slings and bows, precisely as such men are represented in the fighting upon the practically contemporary fragment of the silver vase from Mycenae. This can hardly be anything but a reminiscence of the actual facts of the early struggles.

4. For many centuries the Locrians sent at regular intervals to Ilium, ostensibly in expiation of the crime of the Locrian Aias against Cassandra on the occasion of the capture of Troy, maidens who were subject to singular ritualistic observances and penalties. This fact, long since known from voluminous but scattered literary evidence, has in recent years been irrefutably established by the discovery in West Locris of a long inscription which makes precise regulations for the observance of the institution. Furthermore, the archaeological evidence from the Athena Temple in Ilium seems clearly to confirm this record at a vital point. The conclusion can scarcely be avoided that the Locrians, beyond any other people in Greece, felt it incumbent upon them to expiate the atrocities which were almost inevitable at the destruction of an enemy fortress, and thereby to appease the wrath of the great patron deity of the spot, whom they identified, despite obvious difficulties, which were only partially explained in the saga, with their own chief deity Athena; and that therefore the Locrians felt themselves, more than any other people of Greece, to have been "in at the death," as it were, when Troy finally fell.

Nor does it seem likely that the Locrians furnished merely the crude facts of the early lays, leaving it wholly to the bards of Smyrna and Chios to make real poetry of the same. They were on the contrary a race poetically gifted above the average of the tribes of Greece, as we shall soon see, and it is much more plausible that it was not merely the intrinsic interest of the fighting that focused the attention of the rhapsodes of the South upon this particular nexus of incidents, but that it was also a certain elevation of style and distinction of treatment on the part of the first singers of these tales of "the renown of heroes," that won for them the

admiring notice of the circles out of which eventually Homer came. Pindar, surely a competent witness, speaks with the utmost respect and indeed admiration of Locrian attainments in music and poetry, and, although most of this, no doubt, refers directly to the great colony Locri in the West, still it is quite clear that the poetical talent of Epizephyrian Locri was in a large part an inheritance from the parent stock, as is, indeed, somewhat quaintly set forth in the pretty myth which makes Stesichorus, the greatest poet of the colony, the natural son of Hesiod as he was passing a lusty old age among the Locrians in the vicinity of Naupactus. More than that, the great singer family of Simonides and Bacchylides in Ceos is very likely descended, at least in part, from Locris. Very noteworthy is it that the extremely rare name Bacchylides appears also as that of a famous Opuntian musician and flute-player somewhat younger than his great Chian namesake, while the father of the poet bore a name, Medon or Meidon, which shows the peculiar declensional form that was customary in Locris, but not in Ionic Greek, or normally in Attic. These circumstances are the more significant when we recall that Ceos itself was a colony of Locria, specifically of Naupactus, a fact which rests not merely on the high authority of Aristotle (through Heracleides Ponticus), but is further confirmed by a group of inscriptions from the island itself. It is not surprising then that the Locrian harmony, or mode, generally ascribed to Xenocrates of Epizephyrian Locri, but, as a recently discovered fragment of Hippias on music seems to suggest, probably derived by him from the mother country, should have been employed among non-Locrians, so far as we know, only by Simonides and his school, and of course Pindar, a neighbor, and, as we have already noted, a great admirer of Locris.

In the epic of the mother country, which as Wisdom-, Catalogue-, and Genealogy-Epic, stood in marked and conscious contrast with the imaginative Heroic Epic of the East, the Locrians had demonstrably an important share. This learned poetry is gathered about the name of Hesiod, but it is clear that Hesiod, though he no doubt composed the *Works and Days* and perhaps also the *Theogony*, was not the author of all the poems of the so-called Hesiodic Corpus, but that these were the product of a school that must have been active for several generations in Boeotia and Locris. The parents of Hesiod himself came from Cyme, a Locrian colony, so that for him a Locrian ancestry is at least as plausible as any

other. That he lived for a time at Ascrea in Boeotia is certain, but that he was not actually residing there at the time that he wrote the famous passage in the *Works and Days* denouncing the town as "a wretched village, evil in winter, awful in summer, and never at any time fit to live in" (*Works*, 639 f.) is to my mind a very plausible suggestion; certainly the language used is strange for any Greek to employ of his own place of residence and citizenship. However that may be, there was an old tradition, for Pindar knew it, and well authenticated, since Thucydides accepts it as a fact, that Hesiod ended his days in West Locris, at Oineon, not far from Naupactus. Such scholars as Bergk and Fick have thought to find traces of the Locrian dialect in Hesiodic poetry, but, without stressing this point unduly, it seems certain that some of the poems of this school arose in Locris. This is clearest, perhaps, in the case of the *Ναυράκτια ἔπη*, a poem by Carcinus of Naupactus. This contained genealogies after the type of the *Eoiai* and the *Catalogue of Women*, and, because of the treatment of Jason and Medea, whose adventures in Corinth and Corcyra were therein set forth at length, is to be dated after the period of Corinthian dominance in West Locris began, that is, toward the beginning of the seventh century B. C.

Somewhat more involved is the evidence for the Locrian origin of the long genealogical epics, the *Eoiai*, the *Great Eoiai*, and the *Catalogue of Women* (whatever the precise relations of these designations may be to one another), but the conclusion is, I believe, no less certain. The notable feature of these collections is that each separate section begins with a description and history of the mother of a hero — the father playing a very minor rôle — before passing on to speak of the hero himself; and the singular designation *Eoiai* is derived from the uniform introductory phrase in each division, ἥ ὥς, "Or such as she was," etc. This is a mode of thought and form of expression which could not possibly have arisen in any community other than one in which "mother-kinship" was dominant, and that means simply Locris.

It may be of interest to consider for a moment the evidence for this statement. Polybius tells us that in Epizephyrian Locri "all the honors and privileges of nobility are reckoned in the line of female descent, and not in that of the males, as, for example, their nobles are the descendants of the so-called 'Hundred Houses'; now these 'Hundred Houses' are the ones that were selected in prefer-

ence to all others by the Locrians before the colony was sent out, and from them the Locrians were to choose by lot the maidens who were to be sent to Ilium according to the oracle." These "Hundred Houses" certainly existed also in Locris, and there are other indications of the prominence of women among all Locrians. Thus Pindar in his three odes to Locrian victors at Olympia most frequently and markedly emphasizes the "distaff side," as, for example, where he calls Opus "the city of Protogeneia," a point which did not escape even the ancient scholiast on the passage and has been emphasized by Professor Gildersleeve in his brilliant commentary. The Locrian stories of the creation of man and of the flood attest the same point of view. The first human being was Pandora, "created from clay," as we are told, the mother of mankind. Her daughter Pyrrha, "red earth," was the heroine of the flood and of the second creation of man, and was worshipped at Cynus near Opus; beside her Deucalion occupies a quite secondary position. The offspring of this union, Protogeneia, "the First Born," was the ancestress of the Locrian aristocracy. Here in the first three generations but one human male figure appears, and he in a minor capacity. The Locrian nobility, according to Pindar's express testimony, traced its lineage back to "the women of the stock of Iapetus and the mighty sons of Cronus." The earliest employment of matronymics, which, as is well known, were foreign to Homer, appears in the poems of the Hesiodic corpus, "Philyrides" of Cheiron, "Danaides" of Perseus, and "Letoides" of Apollo, and it is notable that what seems to be the only inscriptional evidence in Greece proper for the designation of a man by his mother's name comes from Amphissa in West Locris, although this was not very uncommon in the East, especially in Cos.

With such demonstrated Locrian authorship of these genealogical poems one would expect to find specific Locrian myths embedded in the Hesiodic poetry, and this is actually the case. The Titan brothers Prometheus, Epimetheus, and Menoetius were specifically East Locrian, and closely fixed about Opus where Prometheus had a *μνῆμα*, or "grave-shrine," which Pausanias, no doubt rightly, regarded as more ancient than the similar one at Argos. The first two of these were most closely associated with the creation of man, that *audax Iapeti genus*, while it is probable that here also more than anywhere else in Greece belongs Iapetus their father; and, though this is not universally admitted as yet, so notable a figure

was he in the old Hellenic genealogies, that the author of the table of the nations in Genesis makes Japheth, that is, Iapetus, the son of Noah and the father of Javan, the eponymous ancestor of the Ionians, by whose name the Semites first designated the Greeks. Here belong also Pandora, created out of clay by Prometheus, the wife of Epimetheus, the mother of Pyrrha and of all mankind; Deucalion, the flood hero, and his wife Pyrrha, the heroine of Cynus, where she was worshipped at her grave-shrine; Protogeneia, "the First Born," and Chthonopatra, "the Daughter of Earth." In what was certainly the East Locrian and South Thessalian version, Deucalion's ark grounded on Othrys, the high mountain which, though in southern Thessaly, quite dominates across the narrow gulf the landscape of East Locris, while the more familiar version which represents Deucalion and Pyrrha as descending from Parnassus while they threw behind them in obedience to the oracle the "bones of their mother," was very likely due to a West Locrian variation of the story, for they also believed themselves to be autochthonous, had a Deucalion story of their own, and Parnassus was their dominating mountain peak. However, no matter where it was later located, the second creation of man from a casting of stones is undoubtedly in origin a Locrian myth.

It is, therefore, essentially a Locrian tale of the creation of man by Prometheus and a second creation after the flood, through the agency of Deucalion and Pyrrha, which, with many variations and elaborations,³ has become for us the general Greek story of these primal things — certainly a notable contribution to the mythology not merely of Greece but of the world.

Upon the origin of early Lesbian lyric poetry also Locris has left an unmistakable trace. At the beginning of a famous hymeneal song Catullus says, "the Evening Star shows his Oetean fires." Similarly Vergil in the *Eclogues*, speaking of nightfall, and addressing the new bridegroom, says "for thee Hesperus is deserting (i. e., rising above) Oeta." In the *Culex* "sluggish Vesper" is represented as "advancing from Oeta." In the *Ciris* we have the following: "Soon as the morrow's dawn was joyously bringing kindly day to mortals, and on chill Oeta was scattering the rays of those advancing fires" (Fairclough). Seneca in the *Hercules Furens* writes thus of sunrise: "Now drawn by his azure steeds

³ It shows a general disregard of other original creation tales, like those of the Athenians, the Argives, the Arcadians, the Aeginetans, and comes to us as canonized by Apollodorus and immortalized by Ovid.

Titan looks down upon the summit of Oeta," while in the *Dying Hercules* Deianira calls Oeta that mount "whose top is first to greet the new born day" (Miller). And finally, among the Roman poets Statius designates the evening and the morning stars as "the lamps of Oeta and Paphos." Thus the dawn, the sun, and especially the evening star, no matter where the real scene of the incident be laid, and therefore in spite of actuality, either set or rise above Oeta, so that Servius is quite wrong when he tries to reduce poetical astronomy to ordinary reason, saying that "the stars seem to *set behind* Oeta, as they *rise above* Ida," for Oeta is both rising and setting point, in fact, a true "heaven-mountain." Now the immediate source of this rather peculiar poetic figure is Alexandrian, or rather Lesbian, for Sappho certainly, and no doubt also Alcaeus, must often have thus described the coming of the dawn or of the night over Oeta, before this theme became a poetical convention. But Oeta is not visible from Lesbos or even its adjacent waters, and just as such phrases in modern literature as the "balm of Gilead," point to Palestine as the first source of much of our religious imagery, so surely do these locutions regarding the heaven-mountain Oeta point to Locris as the home of lyric descriptions of morning and evening hours, so beautiful and so poignant that they became part of the repertoire of even a Sappho. In this one theme, therefore, and then only by the accident of a geographical name embedded in a commonplace, can we discover Locrian origins, but Lesbian Lyric clearly had had a long period of development before it attained to sheer perfection in Alcaeus and Sappho, who were assuredly no experimenting novices but the inheritors of a rich and ordered tradition, so that much more in their poetry than a mere mountain's name must go back to the old lyric poets of Oeta, precisely as in our own imaginative religious literature, infinitely more in theme and style goes back to the poets of Israel than is contained in the mere geographical names of Zion, Jordan, or Babylon. Here again, through Sappho and the Romans, the bards of old Locris have made their contribution to the lyric poetry of the world.

I mention one other noteworthy achievement of the Locrians of old Greece, before we pass to the great colony of the West, and that is the Amphictiony of Thermopylae (or Pylae as the place was called in this particular connection) and Delphi, and the spread of a common designation for all men of Greek speech and culture.

The largest, the most famous, and probably the most ancient (because it always bore distinct traces of antedating even the so-called "Dorian invasion," and belongs therefore in the second millenium B. C.) of the Greek efforts at a "League of Nations" met originally at the Locrian city of Anthele in the pass of Thermopylae. The rallying center was the cult of Demeter Amphictyonis about which scarcely anything is known, for the aims of the Amphictiony seem to have been largely secular in fact, and any attempt unduly to promote a particular cult local at the point of assembly lay no doubt very far from their thought. To be sure there were elements in the worship of Demeter, the Earthmother, the special deity of those who pursue agriculture, that prerequisite of a settled civilization and the principal preventive of discord, which made it singularly appropriate for a gathering of the clans in comradeship, as Pericles urged in his also unsuccessful effort to 'organize the friendship of the world' by making the worship of Demeter and Triptolemus at Eleusis a center of the propagation of peace. Nothing definite is known about the organization of this Pylaeon-Delphic Amphictiony, but it must have antedated Homer's time, and was, therefore, already ancient by the end of the seventh century B. C., when the principal gathering place was transferred to Delphi. The priority of Pylae, however, was never technically abandoned, although in the course of time the delegates originally called "Pylagorae," or "the men who assemble at Pylae," became subordinate to the newer officials "hieromnemones," "the men who mind the sacred things," yet the Pylagorae always retained special charge of the older cult of Demeter, and both hieromnemones and Pylagorae never failed, to the very end, so far as we know, to journey every spring and every fall to Pylae, where formal sacrifices were performed, before adjourning to the really important meeting at Delphi. Indeed, even the assembly at Delphi was always designated "Pylae," or "meeting at Pylae," that is, of course, an adjourned meeting. To be sure, the immeasurably more powerful Thessaly presided at the gatherings during the early part of the period for which we still have historical records, but that does not at all preclude the probability that the Locrians were the founders of the institution, and that Thessaly later assumed the primacy, much as Athens in the period of her military supremacy first patronized and then annexed the Amphictiony of Delos. Therefore certainly as host and patron, and probably also as part founder, at

least, of the oldest Amphictiony, Locris deserves well of the internationally minded.

Now it seems to be agreed that it was largely through this Pylaean-Delphic Amphictiony that the common name Hellenes (and Hellas) was spread over ancient Greece, displacing the older designations Achaeans and Danaans, which Homer used; but it is not so clear just where the term originally belonged, and most scholars seem inclined to place the oldest Hellas north of Phthia in Thessaly, although inadvisedly, I believe. That Locrians were among the very first to call themselves Hellenes is patent from the verse in Homer's *Catalogue of the Ships*, where it is said of the Locrian Aias, that "with the spear he surpassed the Panhellenes and Achaeans," clearly a reference to a gathering in or about East Locris, like that at Anthele, of clans which called themselves individually Hellenes. To be sure Aristarchus athetized this verse because it did not agree with a conclusion which he had reached on other grounds, but scholars are not so sure any more as to just what Homer *ought* to have said on any point, and a wholesome degree of readiness to learn from Homer, as long as he is really intelligible and reasonably consistent, is a vogue for which I pray permanence among the deplorably shifting fashions of philology. And quite consistent with this view is the simple understanding of Homer in his story of Phoenix to mean that the "Hellas" through which this hero fled from his father's house lay between Eleon (near Tanagra in Boeotia) and Phthia, that is East Locris *par excellence*. I am aware that the scholiasts dispute this obvious sense of the passages involved, but their efforts to twist a plain story in the interest of a preconceived theory held by Aristarchus show all the perverse ingenuity of theological disputants and form certainly one of the most tangled skeins of Homeric criticism. Again, the oldest Locrian tradition makes Hellen the very son of Deucalion and Pyrrha, the former of whom is quite as much at home in Locris as anywhere else, and the latter, at least to begin with, exclusively at home there. Remarkable also is the preservation through many centuries, when the Greeks called themselves Romans, and their very language *Romaiki*, of the name Hellas in the vernacular at just this region, where the real local name for the Spercheus is still "Ellada," which, although a transference, not without parallels in modern Greece, unquestionably reflects an ancient usage. Indeed, it may not be altogether an accident that

precisely in the lost play of Sophocles, called *The Locrian Aias*, the word 'Ελλας is used of a man, a singular locution, indeed, but exactly paralleled in Euripides; and it may not be too fanciful to suggest that the expression may have been applied directly, and if so, at least not inappropriately, to Aias himself.

The transfer of the principal seat of the Amphictiony to Delphi took place probably towards the end of the seventh century B. C. We know nothing of the motive. But whatever it may have been, with the transfer the great day of East Locris was past, and the stimulus which had encouraged the Hesiodic poets and the early lyrist and musicians.

West Locris also was unfortunate. Her two large cities, Amphissa and Naupactus, were at her eastern and western extremities; the former was wholly overshadowed by Delphi, the latter fell early into the hands of Corinth, from which it passed to Athens and later to Aetolia. In the tiny valleys of the tangled mountain masses that fill the center of the district there was no chance for the development of a large capital city; the land in general lay to one side of the greater avenues of communication, and, in addition, its inhabitants were steadily losing ground from very early times before the encroachments of the Aetolians in the interior and along the coast.

But, ere this, in the far West, Locrians had found a new home and had there established one of the great colonies of the race, Locri, on the southeastern coast of Bruttium. The new city prospered marvelously, it crossed the Apennines and founded a series of lesser but still noteworthy establishments between Terina and the rock of Scylla, it extended the limits of its domain close to its rival Rhegium towards the South-West. In holding their ground against the even more powerful Croton which was backing the encroachments of its own outpost Caulonia, the men of Locri at the Sagra won so unexpected but so glorious a victory, that it became a proverb in Greece to say of some incredible reality that "it is truer than what happened at the Sagra;" and there grew up about the battle a most beautiful legend of the aid vouchsafed upon this occasion by the "Great Twin Brethren," Castor and Pollux. The loan of their images was all that Sparta, then hard pressed in her second Messenian war, could offer in answer to the prayers of Locri for succor, but when the ambassadors instead of taking offence accepted this proffer earnestly and in simple faith, the gods them-

selves sped across the sea, and, riding upon milk white steeds, gloriously recompensed those who had trusted in them. So famous was this tale that the most picturesque feature of it was not long thereafter taken bodily to Rome by someone who wished to adorn the story of the battle of Lake Regillus, whence through Macaulay's famous lay, it also has become a part of our own literary traditions.

But this is only one of a series of brilliant incidents about the battle. Such was the fear felt before the advancing host of Croton that the men of Locri planned to throw a wall about the chapel of Persephone which lay near the acropolis, but at night a great voice was heard from out the shrine crying that the goddess would defend what was her own. Crafty also was the device by which, when Locri heard that Croton had offered one-tenth of all the spoil to Apollo in case of victory, she secretly vowed one-ninth, and won thereby the favor of the god. The very eagle of Zeus hovered all day above the battle lines of Locri until victory was assured; a vacant place in the battle line was left for their clan hero Aias to occupy, and, as the Crotonian commander tried to break through this gap, he was hurled violently back and stricken with a blindness from which he was cured only after strange adventures with the ghosts of the heroes on the Isle of Achilles in the far northern waters. By him also the word of Helen was carried to Stesichorus, whereat he repented and sang his palinode and recovered his sight also. The news of the victory was bruited abroad at Olympia, or at Sparta, Corinth, and Athens the very same day that it was won. — All this is obviously not history, but a heroic poem of the highest imaginative order, whether in epic, or epic-lyric form, the loss of which is greatly to be deplored, certainly a counterpart and exact equivalent in the far West of the heroic songs of the fighting against Troy, which "those about Homer," as the Greeks might have said, developed into the greatest of epics. Here were the materials and even many themes for the development of a second *Iliad*, but, for good or ill, epic times and the epic temperament were past, and this was among the very latest of the great historical events of Greece wherein the plain and naïve fantasies of the folk tale are elaborated into what has become already a somewhat sophisticated poetry. And I might add, *pro domo mea*, that my apparently somewhat bold hypothesis regarding the origin of the Homeric epic out of early Locrian heroic song, finds its fullest justification in this indubitable example among the same people under similar circumstances in the West.

There was much more of Locrian poetry in this quarter of the world. There were old bards like Erasippus, and especially Eunomus, of whom it was said that once in a contest with a rival from Rhegium, when the highest string upon his lyre snapped, a cicada perched upon his instrument, and whenever the tone of the broken string was called for in the music, rendered that most sweetly itself until victory was won—a theme which Robert Browning in the *Epilogue to the Two Poets of Croisic* has made familiar to all who love English poetry. And, I might add as a counterpart to this tale, that the Locrians were vain of their achievements in music compared with those of their rivals in Rhegium, and in a spirit of taunting jest claimed that on the Rhegian side of their boundary rivulet, the Halex, not even the cicadas knew how to chirrup and sing, a pleasantry which such frenzied nature-fakers as Aelian and hopelessly humorless persons like Pliny and the scholiasts duly record among their collections of “strange facts.”

A far more substantial figure is Xenocrates, whom men so diverse as Pindar and Callimachus rejoiced to praise, a leading figure in the so-called “second establishment of music at Sparta” about 665 B. C., with which the really historical period of lyric begins, the inventor, or at least popularizer, of the Locrian musical mode, which was in wide use as late as the fifth century. He wrote songs, poems, and dithyrambs, and, as Ps.-Plutarch in his *Essay on Music* puts it, he was also “a poet of heroic subjects which involved incidents of dramatic action,” that is, the “heroic lyric,” as we see it in Pindar’s famous fourth Pythian and as it must have been in the songs of the battle of Sagra. Herein he was the forerunner and without doubt the direct teacher of Stesichorus, who, in Quintilian’s striking phrase, “bore upon a harp the weight of epic song” (*epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem*).

Certainly it was at Locri and in its vicinity that the oldest school of choral dithyrambic first flourished. In one of those uncanny psychic epidemics to which the Greeks, and especially Greek women, were subject, and which were regarded as a kind of demoniac, commonly Bacchic, possession, as Aristoxenus, the great authority upon ancient music, tells us, the women of Locri and Rhegium rushed out of their cities and wandered about over the mountains, and when the Locrians inquired of the oracle for some remedy, they were told “to sing paeans of springtime for sixty days; wherefore there came to be many composers of paeans in Italy.” Now in recent years, especially since 1906, remarkable

archaeological evidence, confirmatory of this literary tradition, has come to light in the many hundreds of exquisite Locrian votive tablets, dating from the end of the sixth to the middle of the fifth century B. C., at an ancient shrine of Persephone. These show a whole community deeply imbued with Orphic-mystic thought. It is upon such a ground that there arose that passionate interest in the life of the soul, here and in the next world, which in religion expressed itself as Orphism and Mysticism, and in philosophy and social reform as Pythagoreanism, while in literature it used the dithyramb as its most appropriate medium. For from other evidence we know that the paeans of the early Locrian group, Erasippus, Xenocrates and Xanthus, were really not ordinary paeans but rather dithyrambs, whose themes were "heroic actions." And two of these men were called by Stesichorus his masters, so that in the highly developed heroic dithyrambs of Stesichorus, poems such as *The funeral games over Pelias*, *Cycnus*, *Cerberus*, *Eriphyle*, the *Nostoi*, the *Oresteia*, and the like, we have the further development of a poetic genre originated at Locri by another Locrian, and the greatest of all their poets.

For the Locrian origin of Stesichorus (I mean the truly great poet of the two or possibly even three that bore the appellation) cannot really be questioned. His original name Tisias points to a town of that name, Tisia or Taisiai, between Metaurus, a Locrian colony and probably the city of his birth, and Locri itself, as his brother Mamertinus belongs clearly with the Locrian subcolony Mamertion; Aristotle represents him as giving "in Locri" a celebrated bit of poetic advice against proclaiming war: "Be not insolent," he said, "lest henceforth your cicadas do their singing from the ground," meaning thereby that their enemies would cut down every tree and bush; and Himerius records that he glorified his own city Locri. We have besides the early and celebrated story that Stesichorus was the natural son of Hesiod and a West Locrian maiden, which, though without doubt literally false, is in a broad sense ideally true, for Stesichorus carried on in Locri the poetic tradition of the Hesiodic school, only, in response to the spirit of the age, treating epic themes in lyric style.

Now of course it is no part of my task to estimate here the position and influence of Stesichorus: that would require several papers longer even than this one. But I might merely observe that he was one of the very small number of Greek poets who might be

freely mentioned in the company of Homer, Sappho, and Archilochus; that he systematized and canonized at least, if he did not actually "invent" the triadic scheme of composition, strophe, antistrophe, and epode, the famous τὰ τρία Στρωχόρου; and finally, because this seems a feature which he owed to a certain erotic streak that appears to have characterized much of Locrian poetry and is perhaps in a certain way to be linked up with their singular institution of "mother-kinship," he was the first to introduce into the poetry of Europe the theme of the tragic loves of persons of quite humble social origins. These are the *Rhadine*, a tale of how a maiden from Samos in Elis, sought as a bride by the tyrant of Corinth, was visited by her cousin and lover who rode to meet her in his chariot, and how the two were surprised and murdered by the tyrant, who put their bodies in the car and sent them away, but afterwards repented and buried them; the *Kalyke*, of a maiden who took the celebrated Lover's leap of Leucas because of an unrequited honorable passion; and especially the *Daphnis*, of a young Sicilian shepherd who was blinded for breaking, by falling in love with a king's daughter, the troth that he had pledged to a simple nymph, the first appearance of the familiar theme of the loves of shepherds, and destined to become the prototype of the pastoral; while in the whole group of themes we find the first fore-runners of the Greek novel.

There were not lacking other people of ability in Locri, or in Locris either, for that matter, famous actors, musicians, athletes, physicians, mathematicians, legislators, astronomers, poets, and more than a single poetess, one of the earliest authors of a cook book, Glaucus, who treated his profession with the utmost dignity as one of the arts which no slave, and among freemen only the rarer spirits, should be allowed to practise; even philosophers so eminent that Plato himself stopped more than once to discourse with them, one among whom, Timaeus, a Pythagorean, was a man of such prestige and distinction, that a drift towards Pythagorean thought in Plato's later writing must be in some measure attributable to him, and Plato's own most serious cosmological speculations are, as a token of homage, put in his mouth, in the extraordinary work which bears his name. But these are after all but matters of relatively minor consideration, and, before closing, I hasten to recall one other great "first" in Locrian history, the legislation of Zaleucus, the primal law-code of Europe.

The historicity of the person of Zaleucus has, indeed, been called in question by sceptics ancient and modern, but without justification. To be sure, every anecdote about him sounds apocryphal, but none is mythical, and that is the important point; hence we must conclude that his period, roughly 660 B. C., while late enough to vouchsafe the recollection of a great man's name and achievement, is still too early to guarantee the survival of any other authentic details about him. He was certainly a nobleman, and this we can assert, not so much because it is so handed down, since other traditions represented him as a shepherd, and even as a slave, but simply because in the conservative aristocratic social organization of the Locrians of all lands, no other kind of person could possibly have done what he did. His code also was ascribed to Athena, after the manner of all the most ancient legislators, whether real or apocryphal, like Moses, Lycurgus, Numa, and Minos. No doubt also his formulas were learned by heart and sung or chanted, since we know that this was done with the laws of his first successor in the West and close imitator Charondas and we are further informed that for his code, at least at Mazaca, provision was made for a public official called a *ρομφός*, or "chanter of the laws"; while certainly genuine in substance, at least, is the regulation that the people should learn his laws by heart, and "at their festivals should recite them after singing the paeans."

The striking features of the authentic legislation are not numerous. Of course it was proverbially severe. The assessment of fixed penalties for specific offenses was clearly intended to protect the weak against the arbitrary punishments of a class in power. In conscious opposition to the development of a strong commercial and trading class, and in an effort to maintain the agrarian character of the earlier order, Zaleucus ordained that no man might sell his landed patrimony except with the approval of the state on the presentation of proof of conspicuous calamity; that every producer had to market his own products; and that contracts for loans might not be made — this latter somewhat of a controversial point, even in antiquity. Its true meaning, I believe, when taken in conjunction with other evidence, is that contractual relations were restricted to the simplest personal services and exchanges, but that whoever lent money, or the metal bars then no doubt utilised as currency, did so at his own risk, for such loans could not be recovered by law. And here I pause to remark that it is quite

wrong to say that Zaleucus forbade the coining of money. He simply could not have done so because such a thing was unknown in his part of the world at that time, and the oldest coins of the Western colonies date almost a full century after his legislation; but there must have been some exact provisions for the use of the old metal-bar currency and scales (somewhat like the Roman formal purchase, *per aes et libram*, maintained, at least by convention, for the ancient formalities in *nexum*, *mancipatio* and *testamentum*), which enabled the lawful gentry at Locri to prevent, until after the great democratic revolution of 346 B. C., the coining of money at home, although they seem to have issued some silver coins for the special use of Terina, and possibly for Caulonia, which fell under their domination in the year 388 B. C.

I need hardly say that there were no political enactments in the code of Zaleucus, but that it was purely social-economic-juridical, like the Twelve Tables of the Roman law. It was, therefore, obviously not born of political revolution, but was merely the enactment of general established usage, a circumstance which explains how Ephorus could suggest that Zaleucus drew his laws from Crete, Sparta, and Athens; the fact simply being that all were drawing from the same general body of *mores* that obtained throughout the whole Greek race.

Naïvely suspicious of change, therefore, was this ancient law-giver, while he himself was inaugurating by this very reduction of usage to code the most momentous transformation. He provided that the proponent of any amendment had to appear before the assembly of "The Thousand," with a noose about his neck, and plead his case; whereupon, if he failed to secure a majority for his motion, the noose was just tightened up a bit. We can readily believe Demosthenes when he tells us that the code stood for upwards of 200 years without any amendments. It is perhaps not uninteresting to notice the character of the solitary known amendment that was actually adopted during the first three centuries of the observance of the code at Locri. Relying upon the strict enforcements of the section containing the *lex talionis*, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," a Locrian on quarrelling with a fellow citizen who had only one eye, threatened to gouge out that one eye, and thus reduce his enemy to total blindness, while he himself, though punished for the assault, would still retain one good eye. Whereupon the alarmed one-eyed man adjusted his

noose and went before the assembly pleading for an amendment which would provide that in case the victim of an eye-gouging assault had but one eye to lose, his assailant should forfeit both of his and be reduced to the same state of total blindness.

To the question why the first law code in Europe should have come into existence at Locri rather than anywhere else, antiquity has left us no answer, and we must venture upon one of our own. Codes of law become necessary only when doubt and conflict about what are, or should be, the *mores*, are so acute as to threaten the stability of the social order. In the motherland the *mores* of each community were well known and entrusted to the guardianship of the ruling class, while strangers who came to settle in a different community had no opportunity to continue the observance of their own customs, but had patiently to learn and to conform. Likewise in the colonies sent out by the other states of Greece there was always some "metropolis," or "mother city," whose laws and institutions, at least pending the adoption of new enactments, prevailed. But neither East Locris nor West Locris was ever organized in such a way as to have a single leading city for the whole clan, while, as we know from inscriptional evidence, each community, and there were dozens of them, had its separate government, courts, and laws, and the only common clan organization seems to have been sacral in character, so that common political action, if attained at all, had to be arranged for separately as each emergency arose. Neither was there any single leading city of either canton large enough to serve as the "metropolis" of so great an establishment as was Locri. Therefore we can feel quite certain that Locri was a common colony of the whole clan. The circumstances must then have been similar to those under which a colony was sent to Naulactus shortly before the middle of the fifth century B. C., a copy of the original decree for which has been preserved upon a bronze tablet now in the British Museum. Opportunity to take part in this enterprise was open to every citizen of all the communities of Locris, although the prime initiative was taken in this case by the city of Opus. By a special action, duly recorded at the end of the document, it was provided that exactly the same rights and privileges belonged also to the citizens of Chalaëum who took part in the enterprise. In other words, we have here the official document as applying to the sovereign city of Chalaëum, and without doubt every other separate settlement or *pagus* had a similar document

made valid for its constituency by similar special enactment. Besides all this multiplicity of origin within the confines of East and West Locris proper, there seem to be traces at Locri of contingents from other tribes of Greece, probably some Corinthians, and very likely other Dorians, and even Ionians. Now at first, while houses were being built, lands assigned, and the natives being subjugated, men could get along very easily, because the ordinary usages regarding matters of fundamental importance like theft, murder, arson, and the like, were practically identical throughout Greece, and these are about all the matters of right with which a pioneer and frontier community concerns itself at the outset. But with the laws governing inheritance, which depend upon varying ideas regarding priority rights among different grades of relatives by blood and by marriage, there is quite a different story. Here considerable diversity very probably obtained from the start, and the question as to which usage was to be followed, when the first generation of settlers began to die off, must have become acute. It may well be, therefore, something more than a mere coincidence that the date of the legislation of Zaleucus is about one full generation, or only slightly more, after the founding of the colony, that is, precisely when just such a situation was causing confusion and irritation.

For about a hundred years the work of Zaleucus stood alone in the West, although at Athens Draco seems to have published certain laws, principally, it would appear, touching homicide, in the latter part of the same sixth century. Then Charondas of Catana prepared a code, which contained, as Aristotle expressly informs us, nothing original except a law against bearing false witness, but was merely a more precise and detailed form of Zaleucus' code; so well had Zaleucus done his work that little save form remained to be improved upon, even after the lapse of a century. This revised code was widely adopted among the Ionian colonies of the West, and even in many communities of the East, while the laws of Diocles of Syracuse (still later than Charondas and dependent upon him as well as upon Zaleucus) were most popular in the Dorian communities. The old code of Zaleucus was probably current among the Achaean colonies of Magna Graecia, since we are expressly informed that it was in force at Sybaris and Thurii. Largely, no doubt, through the code of Charondas, especially by way of Cumae, and perhaps to some degree directly, or even

through the agency of the Etruscans, the laws of Zaleucus must have profoundly influenced the Roman Law of the Twelve Tables, and other laws, and through these the legislation of all the European world. This is not only the inevitable inference from contiguity and the demonstrably imitative and receptive spirit of the Romans when it came to all forms of higher civilization, but an incontrovertible argument for the dependence of Roman law upon Greek is still embedded fossil-like in their very speech. The Latin *poena*, a word of such fundamental consequence that hardly any legal thinking in criminal law is even imaginable without it, is simply the Greek *ποινή*.

There must also have been recognized among Roman historians of jurisprudence the dependence of their law upon the work of Zaleucus, before so foolish a story, clearly in perversion of something similar but after all quite different, could ever have been told, as the one in Symmachus, that the Romans, because of the excellence of the work of Zaleucus, honored him with the bestowal of Roman citizenship — in the seventh century B. C., forsooth!

But this is not the place to touch upon so large a question as the history of the Roman Twelve Tables; let me draw briefly now my conclusions. To mention only the major achievements, we have seen the motherland Locris active at the beginning of the Homeric Epic and of Lesbian Lyric, as well as at the climax of the genealogical poetry of the Hesiodic School, and in the myths of the Creation and the Deluge; host, and single or joint founder, of the first inter-tribal league, and contributing markedly through the Hellenic name, primarily at home in this district, to the development of the consciousness of a unity of national culture. And we have seen the great colony Locri, original in music and in lyric, pre-eminent in that epoch-making so-called "second establishment of music at Sparta," originating the heroic dithyramb, above all through Stesichorus dominating choral lyric as no other force, and introducing into high literature the themes of the pastoral and the novel, and finally, as first among all Europeans, and so far removed from the Orient in the setting as to be virtually independent of its influence, taking the momentous step of reducing to written form the traditional *mores*. Surely no other of the smaller clans of Greece contributed so much to the national achievement, and few even of the larger communities contributed more.

TEACHING BY DIALOGUE

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Of the numerous shapes taken by that protean type, the formal prose dialogue, none is older or more persistent than the pedagogical. From Ælfric's *Colloquium* down to the textbooks of the middle of the nineteenth century, the dialogue never entirely disappeared from the literature of teaching. The explanation is in part historical, but only in part; to a large extent we find it in the nature and possibilities of the dialogue itself.

To account for the English educational dialogue, a glance at its ancestry is sufficient. The dialogues of Plato were, for the classically minded, models of pedagogical skill. He who proposed to teach philosophy found nothing distantly approaching the Socratic method for the puncturing of fallacies and the exposure of loose and sophistical thinking, the elucidation of new and complex ideas, and the rapid presentation of contradictory and conflicting points of view. For the teacher of any other subject it held almost equal attraction. Education in its etymological sense called obviously for the Socratic form of attack: the teacher asks; the pupil replies; he learns by explaining, perhaps even by vainly trying to explain.

The pedagogy of the Christian church perpetuated during the same period a related practice, the formal and mechanical asking of questions which we know as the catechism. Catechizing was practiced before it took written or printed form: but the catechism, even in its accepted sense, is almost as old in England as the dialogue. Its subsequent development into enormous popularity, though a subject too large to be treated here, is one of the conspicuous accompaniments of the rise of independent sects in England. The pedagogical aim of the catechism needs no exposition: not only was the set of questions and answers a popular form of creed, but it was particularly designed to be taught readily to young and old.

In a certain loose fashion this twofold origin, in Plato and the Church, is related to a distinction in the kinds of educational dialogues. Roughly, at least, the works of mature scholarship, treating large subjects logically, follow the models of Plato and Cicero. The textbook of the schools, on the other hand, resembles the catechism, of which it is in many respects a development. In the New England Primer, for example, through many editions the catechism appears as an integral part: religion and education going here, as often, hand in hand.

To the first type belong Alfred's translations of Boethius and Gregory, and the succession of learned treatises from Fitz-Nigel,¹ Fortescue,² and Saint-Germain.³ Half-way between stands the charming *Colloquium* of Ælfric, which, though devised as a child's textbook, still reflects casually the society of the period and employs an admirably easy, conversational style, unequalled until the days of Erasmus. At the other extreme is that old stand-by of mediaeval education, the lesser Donatus (the "Ars Minor" or "Lesser Catechism in the Parts of Speech"). Immensely popular for centuries, it must have served as a model, not only for Alcuin, whose dialogues fall short of it in influence, but for many authors since.

With the invention of printing and the coming of the Renaissance, however, the textbook received a great impetus. Before the fifteenth century the simultaneous study by several persons of any one work was possible only after the expenditure for laborious copying of a sum so great as to be almost prohibitive, or through the method employed in mediaeval universities where lectures

¹ *Dialogus de Scaccario* (1160-1198), more commonly known by its English title, *The Ancient Dialogue of the Exchequer*, was translated in 1658. Its author, Richard Fitz-Neale or Fitz-Nigel, son of Nigel, Bishop of Ely, was from 1160 to his death in 1198 treasurer of England, and, for the last nine years of the time, Bishop of London also.

² *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*. Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice and Counsellor of Henry IV, was the author of three other dialogues, *De Natura Legis Naturæ*, *The Declaration made by John Fortescue, knyght, A Dialogue between Understanding and Faith*. The *De Laudibus* was written to encourage the young heir to the throne to take an interest in the laws of his country. The author of *Eunomus* (1774) names this and the dialogue by St. Germain as the greatest English legal dialogues.

³ *Dialogus de Fundamentis Legum et de Conscientia* (1523). Translated as *A Fyrste Dialogue in Englysshe* (1531), and combined with a *second Dialogue in Englysshe* in 1532. Christopher Saint-Germain, in the course of a controversy with Sir Thomas More, wrote also, *A Dialogue betwixte two Englishmen, whereof one was called Salem and the other Bizance* (1533).

were practically dictated to students for subsequent study. Printing changed all this. At the same time, Colet, Grocyn, Erasmus, and Lyly brought to the English schools both inspiration and subject matter. Practice in the translation of Latin into English, which had the century before replaced translation into French, was now extended to Greek, and the Third Form at Winchester parsed Lucian's Dialogues. Reading, memorizing, and composing were supplemented by language dialogues of which the most famous were the *Colloquia* of Erasmus, long a regular part of the curriculum. Its success as a method of teaching the Latin language must have been decided; certainly the interest of the dialogues, their humor, and their humanity, would recommend them to any student, even today. Of the Greek dialogists, Plato, as well as Lucian, was given a place in the school room.

The *Colloquia* of Erasmus had a numerous following. Sets of dialogues by Mosellanus⁴ and Vives⁵; — the last named, translated into several European languages and published in not less than one hundred editions, early acquired popularity in England, shared later by the colloquies of Corderius⁶ and Brinsley.⁷ The dialogue textbooks of Robert Recorde, dating from 1540 on, treated all the elementary branches of mathematics in editions which were exhausted as soon as printed, and continued to be issued to the very end of the seventeenth century. The *De recta et emendata Linguae Anglicae scriptione* (1568) of Sir Thomas Smith keeps up the fiction of a conversation even through tables of words and pages of the most technical exposition. A work written by Andreas Guarna in 1565-6, and translated into English in 1569, bears the engaging title, *A great war and dissention between worthy Princes, the Noune and the Verbe*, the book being commonly remembered as "setting the eight parts of speech altogether by the ears." John Bayle extracted dialogues from the Scriptures to occupy the time

⁴ *Paedologia* (Leipzig, 1518) reprinted in England (London, 1532) as *Paedologia Petri Mosellani in puerorum usum conscripta et aucta; dialogi XXXVII.*

⁵ Vives, J. L., *Exercitatio* (London, 1539).

⁶ Translated some time before 1614, and read, as Foster Watson says, "in schools of all the Calvinistic countries for a twofold purpose, to teach Latin speech and writing, but farther, to frame the Pupils' minds to right morals and manners."

⁷ *Pueriles Confabulationunculae: or Children's Dialogues, Little Conferences* — (1617).

at table,⁸ while John Clarke of Lincoln School undertook (1633) the Herculean task of providing the schoolboy with manners.⁹

The largest outside influence, that of Italy, began to make itself felt through the middle years of the sixteenth century in an invasion by Italian literature in general, and in particular by Italian ideals of manners and conduct, as contained in conduct books. The contemporary popularity of the dialogue in Italy is a commonplace. Even among the works translated into English, or current in England in the original language, we number several of great weight. Among them were textbooks on international law by Gentili,¹⁰ the art of war by Machiavelli,¹¹ and several on philosophy by Giordano Bruno.¹²

The conduct books also made great use of dialogue. Of these, *Il Cortegiano*, translated first in 1561, and altogether Englished no less than nineteen times, was of course the most influential, although the *Civile Conversation* of M. S. Guazzo (first translated in 1586) was for long a close second. The connection of the two is, however, more a rivalry in popularity than a similarity in aim; for, while they were, as Florio tells us, "the two books most commonly read by those who desired to know a little Italian," Guazzo aimed more at specific cultivation of the art of conversation than did his predecessor. More closely parallel to Castiglione, indeed, is Romei's *The Courtier's Academie* (1598) which comprehends "seven severall dayes discourses; wherein be discussed seven noble and important arguments worthy by all gentlemen to be perused," while the *Discourses of Civil Life*, translated from Giraldis Cintio in 1606 by the English dialogist, Ludowick Bryskett, carries these rather fantastic principles into the education of the child.

⁸ *A dialogue or Communycacyon to be had at a table between two children*, — (1549).

⁹ *Dux Grammaticus* (1633).

¹⁰ *A Gentilis de Juris Interpretibus dialogi sex* (1582), "the earliest systematic digest of international law." The author, an Englishman by adoption, was appointed professor of civil law at Oxford by Elizabeth.

¹¹ Written in 1520, translated into English "by Peter Whitehorne, Student" (1560). For the time, a very advanced work. The author condemns the employment of mercenary troops; advocates universal service from seventeen to forty "furnished by conscription and inspired by the spirit of the New Model of Cromwell"; insists that the infantry, not the cavalry, is the more important branch of the service; and urges thorough knowledge of the enemy's country.

¹² *La Cena de le Ceneri, descritta in cinque dialogi; De la causa principio, et Uno; Eroici Furori; Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante*. All printed between 1583 and 1585.

Just how far the fear of an Italianized England, aroused about the end of the century, was justified, may be gathered from the fact that at least ten grammars and dictionaries had appeared. Some of these were, to be sure, composite works wherein, as in Claudius Desainliens' *Flourie Field of Foore Languages* (1583), Latin and French also found place; but more were of the character of his own *Arnalt and Lucenda* (1575), or of John Florio's *First* or *Second Frutes* (1578, 1591), wherein the student is trained in the Italian tongue by simple dialogues employing familiar words. Even after the seventeenth century was well begun, and Italianism was declining, numerous works of this character appeared.

The period of Italian influence may, however, be pretty completely enclosed within the limits of the sixteenth century. Within that period it left on England an aggregate impression which surpassed any other external influence. In the form of translations it constituted no small portion of the total literature, several of the individual works becoming tremendously popular.

If we accept as final the evidence of the *Stationers' Register*, and assume that all text books were not arbitrarily excluded from Thomason's invaluable *Catalogue*, we must conclude that the Civil War and the Commonwealth put an effective damper on all varieties of pedagogical composition. The practice of the schools, however, remained substantially unchanged. By 1665 the dialogue had become sufficiently familiar as a rhetorical form to demand separate and specific treatment in Ralph Johnson's *Scholar's Guide from the Accidence to the University*.

Here we find definitions of three forms of composition designated respectively as the dialogue, the prosopopoeia, and the colloquy. "A dialogue is a short, pithy, and witty discourse betwixt two or more persons." "A prosopopoeia is a discourse, pathetically, and livelily setting forth what we conceive a person might say in such or such a case." "A colloquie is a feigned discourse betwixt two or more persons." This rather nebulous distinction is made somewhat more definite by the rules which the author appends for the construction of these forms. In all dialogues, he tells us, "we must especially observe the decorum of the speakers, viz. When, what, how much; How or after what manner they ought to speak. The choicest Dialogues are those which are framed upon the Pictures or Statues of the Gods, Goddesses, vertues, vices, as occasion,

repentance, justice, fortune, the fates, the furies, the graces, etc. Briefly demanding, wittily rendring the reason of what Poets or Painters have fansied concerning them." For the prosopopoeia it is essential to "consider the case and condition of the person you represent, and imagine yourself in such a place, so qualified. Observe what passions the person is most affected with, as love, joy, sorrow, fear, hatred, anger, despair; also what virtues or vices he is inclined to, and by the Rules of moving passions . . . make use of those figures and arguments which best suit the purpose. Consider the time, place, condition, age, sex, religion, and former state of the person, that all things may be done ad decorum, not unsuitably in any circumstances."

To prepare a "colloquie," however, the scholar is instructed to "Imagine some discourse betwixt two or more persons, concerning some matter daily hapning among people, as about the School, House, Church, Market, Fields, Woods, or something done therein: or about News, Travels, Games, Imployments, Trades.—Indeavour to make your Colloquy pleasant, with witty jerks, quibbles and fancies (such as you shall often find in Erasmus) joking upon a name, action, proverb, or the like. In larger Colloquies upon any particular Subject, as Foot-ball, Hand-ball, Hunting, Hawking, Fishing, Swimming, Shuting, Musick, Dancing, Feasts, Souldiery, Law, Heraldry etc. Indeavour to apply as many of the terms belonging to that exercise as may be."

The models for such exercises were, of course, not the simpler language dialogues, or the catechism, but the dialogues of Erasmus and Lucian, and perhaps some of the more finished and graceful colloquies of Vives, Corderius, and others.

Between such instruction and the common employment of the disputation, there was a natural affinity. The practice of disputing in the schools, which obtained until the middle of the seventeenth century despite gradual limitation to grammatical topics, gave natural opportunities for the use of dialogue textbooks.¹³ *The*

¹³ William Fitzstephen says: "In the raigne of king Stephen, and of Henry the second — there were in London, three principall Churches: which had famous Schooles, either by priuiledge and auncient dignitie, or by fauour of some perticular persons, as of Doctors which were accounted notable and renowned for knowledge in Philosophie. And there were other inferior schooles also. Upon Festiuall dayes the Maisters made solemne meetings in the Churches, where their Scholers disputed Logically and demonstratiually: some bringing Enthimems, others perfect Sillogismes: — Others used fallacies:

Englishe Scholemaister (1596) in "an order how the teacher shall direct his scholars to appose one another" says: "Touching the framing and sweet tuning of the voice I have added for help, for prose all sorts of style both dialogue and other, and for verse, Psalms and other verses of all the other sorts usual."

Yet with this wide popularity came a gradual narrowing of the field of the dialogue. In the first place, the colloquy, though liberally employed in the schoolroom, ceased, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, to be prominent in the records of the booksellers. Among ordinary textbooks the dialogue form was more and more limited to the teaching of languages.¹⁴

Within the field of the languages the number is enormous. There were Spanish and Portugese grammars, and a guide to Spain and Portugal and Italy; dialogues in Italian and English from various authors, a High Dutch grammar, and English dialogues for both High Germans and Dutchmen; dialogues in Latin, Greek, Turkish, and Malayan; and, lest anything should be overlooked, dialogues in eight languages. But in French the showing was most impressive. There were Boyer, and Clerombault, and Howell, and Manger; while old stand-bys like Festeau and Guy Miege issued edition after edition. Miege, indeed, was ever new. In 1678 he wrote his *New French Grammar*; in 1682 he brought out *One hundred and fifteen Dialogues, French and English*. In 1687 his offering was *The Grounds of the French Tongue*, while in 1698 he not only published one book under two different titles, but in a third undertakes to teach English to Frenchmen.

The method of these works is of course much like that employed

Rethoricians spake aptly to perswade, observing the precepts of Art, — the boys of diuerse Schooles did cap or pot verses, and contended of the principles of Grammar: — " and Stow, after quoting the above, continues: "for I my selfe in my youth haue yearly seene on the Eve of S. Bartholomew the Apostle, the schollers of diuerse Grammer schooles repayre unto the Churchyard of S. Bartholomew, the Priorie in Smithfield, where upon a banke boorded about under a tree, some one Scholler hath stepped up, and there hath apposed and answered, till he were by some better scholler overcome and put downe: — But the arguing of the Schoole boyes about the principles of Grammer hath been continued euen till our time." (*Survey of London*, Oxford, Vol. I. pp. 71-2 ff.)

¹⁴ Both in England and in America occasional dialogue textbooks of the sciences may be encountered well up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Among such, the versatile Mrs. Jane (Haldimand) Marget published in America: *Conversations on Political Economy* (1817), *Conversations on Botany* (1818), *Conversations on Chemistry* (1820), *Conversations on Natural Philosophy* (1820), *Conversations on Vegetable Physiology* (1830).

in conversation books in the foreign languages today. Mauger begins with the simplest phrases: "Have you seen Master?" "I saw him yesterday." "I saw him last week." These grow in difficulty, the forty-third dialogue containing sentences like, "It is too true, an Express arrived yesternight at the Court, that has brought the King those (sic) fatal news, his most Christian Majesty is most sensible of them, and everybody."

For the use of parents in the home there were numerous manuals. Such a one was Richard Baxter's *Poor Man's Family Book* (1674) which "in plain familiar conferences between a Teacher and a Learner" drove home religious truths. Similar in character was Robert Russell's *Companion for Children and Youth, in Three Parts*:—2 "Who they are that are good, and who are wicked Children; with a dialogue between a good Mother and a naughty Girl:—3 a Dialogue between William and Betty on serving God, and keeping Holy the Sabbath Day; and a Dialogue with their Playfellows to the same end: to which is added, 'The Christian's blessed choice'."

But instruction had to be provided not only for school and home, but also for the apprentices to the trades and the students of the arts. In this field the number of dialogue textbooks is surprising. *The Compleat Compting-House* (1678) took the boy, a novice, and promised to turn him out a skilled clerk or factor. Trades like engraving and watchmaking were carefully taught. Penmanship could be learned without a master, and the noble art of fencing acquired without bloodshed. Even painting was taught by textbook.

The sailors who braved the deep might choose whether they would learn from Newhouse or from Boteler. Either was reasonably satisfactory. Newhouse, to be sure, did not always live up to the promised easy familiarity of style, but at least the exposition was reasonably clear, and his books had invaluable tables and illustrations. Boteler dealt "with the commander in chief, officers and men, victualling, the names of the several parts of the ship,—sailing, chasing and fighting ships of war."

Yet with all its popularity in the school, the home, and the trades; and despite the fact that great scientists like Hobbes and Boyle, the philosopher Berkeley, and a host of other authors not to be mentioned here, found some kind of dialogue a convenient

vehicle for their ideas, the textbook dialogue, like the dialogue in general, steadily declined in favor. By 1750 the tendency was apparent, yet, for more than a century, the dialogue lingered. The American textbooks of the mid-nineteenth century show a few examples; ministers and Sunday School workers, and periodicals like the *Youth's Companion*, which aimed to improve the minds of boys and girls, alike caught at its pedagogical possibilities. But today such a use is a curiosity.

Why this is so, it is perhaps idle to speculate. Fashion operates in such matters as in others, and popular literary forms disappear for no other reason than the desire for something new. The brief language dialogue survives today in foreign phrase books, and these will not easily be replaced; but other textbooks have discarded the device almost without exception. The dialogue has, however, obvious merits. It makes possible the step-by-step exposition of a subject; each statement is the answer to a specific question, often partly formed already in the reader's mind; it tends toward clearness; and it promotes interest. With such advantages, its ultimate revival may be expected with confidence.

ELEVEN UNPUBLISHED LETTERS BY FRIEDRICH THEODOR VISCHER

By ADOLPH B. BENSON
Yale University

In 1836, Arnold Ruge, the fearless student, Hegelian philosopher and political agitator, gave up lecturing at the Pädagogium in Halle and sought other means of communicating to the world his rousing ideas and principles. About him raged vehement controversies in theology, philosophy, aesthetics, politics, and literary criticism. Liberalism and rationalism, then unreservedly called radicalism, were undermining the old foundations and sponsors of the old schools were nervous, suspicious, and — active. During the turmoil of the preceding decade, in fact, it had not been an uncommon event, nor an irreparable disgrace, for a man of convictions to go to jail, and Ruge himself had spent six years in prison, a circumstance which, though it might serve to modify his method, would probably only strengthen his determinations for future operations. Consequently, when a young Oberlehrer and colleague, Ernst Theodor Echtermeyer, an author with intellectual leanings toward aesthetics and literary history, suggested the publishing of a periodical, it met with immediate approval on the part of Ruge, and so, in 1837, there was born the *Hallesche Jahrbücher für Kunst und Wissenschaft*, which soon became the most prominent critical organ of the day.

But what Ruge needed most for his undertaking, besides subscribers, was a corps of able, sympathetic, forcible writers, and in October of the same year Ruge appeared in Württemberg to solicit contributors for his magazine. He found in Tübingen the gifted Hegel interpreter and aesthetician, Friedrich Theodor Vischer, at that time a hard-working assistant professor at the University, who readily promised active support, believing not only in the freedom and independence of literary and philosophical criticisms in general, but in the Hegelian Weltanschauung in particular. The following eleven letters, written by Vischer between January, 1838,

and July, 1842, are all addressed to Dr. Arnold Ruge, the editor of the *Hallesche Jahrbücher* (in 1841 because of Prussian censorship moved to Dresden and significantly renamed *Deutsche Jahrbücher*) and deal with Vischer's past and prospective contributions to this periodical. We obtain in them a good glimpse of the author's dauntless personality and critical versatility; we may glance at his academic workshop and see the conscientious teacher struggling under the combined duties of lecture-room preparations and the inner urge for critical research publication; and we can perceive his attitude toward many interesting contemporaries of divergent creeds and cultural professions. For us, the main value of the letters lies in their illumination of the literati of the time and in their reference to Vischer's activities in *Faust* literature. The latter facts have won for them a place in the William A. Speck collection of Goethiana in Yale University.

1

Lieber Herr Doktor!

Eben erhalte ich Ihre freundliche Zusendung, eben geht Herr Cand. Kornbeck¹ auf die Reise u.[nd] bittet mich um einige Zeilen an Sie, was ich denn benutzen will um Ihnen für Ihre Briefe zu danken, Ihnen zu sagen wie lebendigen Antheil ich fortwährend an Ihrer Zeitschrift nehme, wie bereit ich bin Ihnen Beiträge zu senden, wie sehr ich aber im gegenwärtigen Semester von Arbeitsgeschäften bedeckt und erdrückt bin. Ich lese zwei ganz neue Vorträge zu denen ich nur Stoffe sammeln konnte, aber nichts vorher ausarbeiten; eins davon ist Gesch[ichte] d[er] deutsch[en] Poesie im Mittelalter: Sie kennen den Umfang dieser Arbeit u.[nd] ich habe erst jüngst angefangen in dieselbe einzudringen. Ich weisz oft nicht wie ich die Viertelstunde zusammensparen soil, und gewisz Sie dürfen es als einfache Unmöglichkeit ansehen Ihnen diesen Sommer etwas zu schicken. Aber desto gewisser will ich nächsten Winter bei der Hand sein: ich werde Ihnen die Faustiana liefern, den Mörike einführen, od.[er] wenn ich Hinrichs'² Schrift

¹ Obviously a student. It has proved impossible to find any other references to him.

² Hermann Friedrich Wilhelm Hinrichs (1794-1861), an orthodox Hegelian, was professor of philosophy in Halle, 1824-1861. He had published *Ästhetische Vorlesungen über Goethes Faust* (1825), and at this time his work, *Schillers Dichtungen nach ihren historischen Beziehungen und ihrem inneren Zusammenhange*, was appearing.

zu beurtheilen mich gewachsen fühle, Ihrer dahingehenden Bitte herzlich gern entsprechen. Aber Strausz,³ der keine unmittelbar stets pressante Arbeit hat, werde ich treiben dasz er diesen Sommer auch für mich einstehe und Sie fleissig unterstütze.

Nehmen Sie mich als einen Menschen der eben jetzt bis ü[ber] den Hals in den Docenten-Leiden eines angehenden akademischen Lehrers steckt u[nd] legen Sie mir doch ja mein Säumen nicht als Theilnahmslosigkeit aus.

Vielleicht bringt Ihnen H. Kornbeck (ich spreche ihn mehr vor seiner Abreise u[nd] weisz daher nicht ob er es einpacken kann) als kleinen Grusz ein Büchlein mit worin ich vor Jahren unter den Namen Treuburg einige poetische Sprünge machte⁴ dasz auch niemand rezensieren wollte und das ich Sie, wenn Sie es einiger Beachtung werth finden (ich kenne die Mängel wohl), anzuzeigen bitte. Wo nicht, so vertreibt Ihnen die Lektüre doch ein paar müszige Stunden. Kann es Kornbeck nicht mitnehmen, so will ich es, zugleich mit dem jetzt geliehenen Hinrichs, wenn ich diesen sogleich durchzulesen Zeit finde, Ihnen durch Buchhandel zuschicken.

Lassen Sie mich die Folgen meines Geschäftsdrangs nicht entgelten und zeigen Sie bald mein aest[hetisches] Werkchen an.

Ueber die Christologie werden wir uns wohl noch vereinigen können. Geben Sie mir zu, dasz der historische Christus nicht frei von Irrthum und Sünde war so trete ich Ihren dadurch modificierten Sätzen bei. Christus steht in dem Zusammenhange der Zeugenden oder Gezeugten und gehört also der Gattung an und theilt ihre, eben durch ihre physische Basis begründeten, Mängel bei aller Absolutheit des Selbstbewusstseins, das sich die Gottheit in ihm gebe. Insofern, und in der Opposition gegen den Supernaturalismus musz ich den Ausdruck: Exemplar der Gattung in Schutz nehmen.

Doch ich habe Eile und will ein andermal davon mehr sagen.

Herzlich grüsst Sie

FR. VISCHER

Tübingen den 16 Januar 1838.

³ David Friedrich Strausz, famous author of *Leben Jesu*, had been a playmate and student companion of Vischer.

⁴ Under the pseudonym of A. Treuburg, Vischer had published, in 1836, a few poems in the *Jahrbuch schwäbischer Dichter und Novellisten*, which was edited by Mörike and W. Zimmermann. It will be remembered that in his boyhood Vischer formed a friendship with Mörike which lasted for life.

2

Lieber Herr Doktor!

Diesmal ging es ungeschickt.— Ich wollten Ihnen nach den Ferien zuerst eine Anzeige von Mörikes Gedichten, dann die Kritik der Faustliteratur ausarbeiten. Auf der Heimreise sagte mir Reinh. Köstlin,⁵ er arbeite eben an einem Aufsatz: Mörike und die romantische Schule. Da er schon Vieles daran ausgearbeitet, so hielt ich es für Pflicht, zurückzutreten.— Ich ging nun eifrig an die Faust-Literatur, die aber, da sie nun die 10 Schriften umfasst und ich einige erst beschaffen muszte, nicht so schnell vorrücken konnte, denn ich habe auch eine neue Vorlesung.

Inzwischen kommt Ihr drängendes Schreiben, worin Sie schnell nur wenigstens etwas kleines sich erbitten. Ich wollte mich, da ich die Verpflichtung gegen das Blatt um so gern anerkenne, als mich die Angriffe der Feinde ihm schon enger verbunden haben, Ihrer Erwartung nicht entziehen und arbeitete in ein paar Tagen schnell eine Anzeige von Mörikes Gedichten aus. Ehe ich sie abgeschrieben, hielt ich es für billig, dasz ich Köstlin schrieb: ich werde mit meiner kurzen Anzeige seiner Arbeit nicht im Wege sein, ich wolle den Vorreiter machen, das Blatt habe gewisz für beide Abhandlungen Platz. Nun antwortete Köstlin, er habe seine Arbeit schon abgeschickt, glaube nicht dasz man beide aufnehme und sei also in einiger Verlegenheit, worauf ich meine Anzeige liegen liesz.

Damit Sie mir nun aber nicht gar zu ungeduldig werden, so schicke ich Ihnen vor der Hand eine kleine Portion Faust-Literatur.⁶ Es ist mehr fertig, aber nicht in der Reihe und nicht abgeschrieben. Ihrem Wunsche, kurze Aufsätze zu erhalten, kann ich hier insofern nicht entsprechen, als die Sache eine längere Schnur von selbst verlangt. Aber Sie können sie ja in beliebig viele Stückchen zerschneiden und das ganze als eine Folge kurzer einzelner Kritiken betrachten und geben. Den inneren Zusammenhang wird man darum nicht verlieren. Das Ganze musz in den Weihnachtsferien jedenfalls fertig werden.

Strausz ist am Schleiermacher, was mich sehr freut. Dasz Uhland

⁵ Reinhold K. Köstlin (1813-1856), author, Hegelian, and criminologist, became a Privatdocent in criminal law in Tübingen, 1839.

⁶ Vischer had lectured on *Faust* during the summer, 1834; again in 1838; and the following year contributed to Ruge's magazine *Die Literatur über Göthe's Faust. Eine Uebersicht*, an article in which previous *Faust* critics were subjected to a scathing review. Vischer's subsequent work in this field is well known.

den Gervinus⁷ nicht kritisieren wird, hätte ich Ihnen gleich sagen können. Uhland ist eigentlich kein Kritiker, and wenn, so könnte er, der sich zur altdutschen Literatur so affirmativ verhält, ein so kryptisches Buch⁷ unmöglich billig beurtheilen. Uhland könnte Ihnen niemals Kritiken, sondern nur Charakteristiken (wie sein Walther von der Vogelweide) senden. Ich habe das Mögliche getan, ihn zu bestimmen dasz er so etwas bald für Sie machte. Er hat aber nichts zugesagt.

Ein Landsmann von mir, H. Klüpfel⁸ möchte Ihnen gerne rezensieren:

Ellendorf⁹ über die Carolinger etc.

Prolegomenum zur Historiosophie von Cieszkowski¹⁰.

Klüpfel ist ein guter Historiker und Philosoph; wie er schreibt kann ich nicht sagen. Er ist Vicar in Heppach, Schwabs Schwiegersohn.

Schreiben Sie mir etwa gelegentlich den Inhalt von Köstlins Aufsatz nach seinen Haupt-Ideen; wenn wir nicht zu sehr zusammentreffen, könnten doch vielleicht beide Arbeiten aufgenommen werden? Ich dürfte nur noch abschreiben, in einigen Tagen hätten Sie meine Anzeige.

Halten Sie munter aus und verlieren Sie nicht mehr viel Worte gegen die Menschen, die nicht mit Gründen fechten. Wer ist denn der Kahnis?¹¹ Er hat mich, wie die Anderen, falsch citiert. Ich antworte keinem.

Grüßen Sie den liebenswürdigen Echtermeyer.

Der Ihrige

FR. VISCHER

Tübingen den 10 Dec. 1838.

3

Lieber Herr Doktor!

Da haben Sie nun die ganze Geschichte.¹² Es war keine kleine Arbeit das Scheiszhaus auszuputzen, wo die Kegel klafferhoch zu

⁷ Gervinus, a disciple of Hegel, had published his *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur* in 1836; *Gudrun, ein episches Gedicht*, the same year; also, *Ueber Den Goetheschen Briefwechsel*; and *Grundzüge der Historik*, 1837. The reference in this sentence is probably to the first one of these publications.

⁸ Karl August Klüpfel (1810-1894), preacher, librarian, and historian of literature.

⁹ Johann Otto Ellendorf, author of *Die Moral und Politik der Jesuiten*, 1840.

¹⁰ August, Graf von Cieszkowski (1814-1894), Polish philosopher and adherent of Hegel. He wrote in German, French, and Polish. His *Prolegomena* appeared in 1838.

¹¹ Karl Fr. August Kahnis (1814-1888), Lutheran theologian and writer. Later a professor of theology in Leipzig.

¹² That is, the rest of his article on the *Faust* literature.

Bergen angefroren sind, und gehörte ein scharfer Besen dazu. Dasz ich auch Hinrichs¹³ nicht schonte, hielt ich für Pflicht, weil ich die andern nicht geschont; auch für Ihr Interesse, da man sonst sagen könnte, da sehe man wie man die eigene Partei schone.

Gern hätte ich mich kürzer gehalten, aber es war mir nicht möglich. Ich wollte und muszte mein Urtheil, gerade weil es streng ist, begründen und die ganze Grundsuppe aufrühren, damit man einmal sehe: wie weit der Wahnsinn in dieser Literatur geht und wie geduldig das Publikum bisher war.

Ich wiederhole mich öfters; Sie werden aber finden, dasz ich jedesmal, so oft ich bei Gelegenheit einer neuen Schrift denselben Punkt wieder aufnehme, ihn an einem neuen Zipfel erwische, ihm eine neue Wendung gebe, und so allmählig den ganzen Gehalt der [Sache] immer vollständiger eruiere.

Leben Sie wohl, ich bin reisefertig, um den müdgeschriebenen Leichnam ein paar Tage auszulufteln. Freut mich dasz es in Berlin gut gegangen, das Ding wird ja wohl zur Ruhe kommen,¹⁴ bei uns ist der Geist. Wegen der Hegelinger will ich in Stuttgart anfragen. Ewald¹⁵ weisz zu wenig philosophie. An Klüpfel ging der Brief ab.

Grüßen Sie den lieben Echtermeyer recht herzlich,

Der Ihrige

FR. VISCHER

Tübingen d. 30 Dec. 1838.

4

Tübingen d. 24 Jan. 1839.

Lieber Freund!

Ich bin Ihnen für die Bekanntschaften, die Sie mir in Italien eröffnen, sehr verbunden,¹⁶ und ersuche Sie noch um die Güte mir an die genannten Personen, Riepenhausen, *Volland* (in dubio) Kestner nur je ein paar Zeilen auf einem Blättchen zu überschicken. Es ist doch sicherer wenn man etwas Schriftliches hat. Viel-

¹³ Cf. Note 2.

¹⁴ Perhaps a reference to an unsuccessful attempt at this time, on the part of Ruge's opponents, to suppress his periodical, which had been founded to combat the principles of the *Berliner Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*. A complaint had been lodged with the Prussian Ministry, but so far without result. As we have seen, however, it was moved later to Dresden, Vischer may have suggested moving to Stuttgart. See next sentence. The reference may of course be personal or political, possibly to a teaching appointment. See following sentence.

¹⁵ Georg Heinrich August Ewald (1803-1875), theologian, philosopher, and Orientalist, had just been appointed professor of philosophy in Tübingen.

¹⁶ Vischer was now making preparations for a journey to Italy and Greece.

leicht ist Echtermeyer so gut an H. Menini und Foltz in Mailand ebenfalls ein Kärtchen beizulegen.¹⁷

Haben die Künstler in Rom von meinen Epigrammen gehört so wird nicht mit ihnen auszukommen sein. Ich bin Ihnen dankbar, dasz Sie diese aufgenommen haben, und auch für die passende Aenderung "ein" Pfaffengezunft, statt "das." Dagegen vermisze ich ungern die zwei Epigramme, welche dem Schluszeppigramm vorangingen, und der Bentivoglio für den Beelzebub will mir auch nicht ein.

Inzwischen bin ich entschlossen, künftig aus dem mehr subjectiven Ton herauszugehen und gesetzter zu erscheinen; nicht weil mich das Bisherige reute, sondern um dem Volk die wissenschaftliche Unterlage, auf welche fuszend man kühn zu seyn wagt, zu zeigen.

Von Italien will ich Ihnen gerne Correspondenzen über Kunst etc. schicken, wenn passender Stoff sich sammelt. Geht das sicher und exact durch die Post oder wüßten Sie von Rom nach Nord-Deutschland Gelegenheiten?

Ich grüße Sie und Echtermeyer, indem ich nun auf längere Zeit vom Vaterland Abschied nehme, mit dem freudigen Bewusstsein dasz wir im Guten und gleichen Streben zusammen sind.

Ihr

FR. VISCHER

5

Lieber Herr Doktor!

Das ganze Geheimnisz, warum ich sowohl diesmal als sonst mit Antworten säumte und lieber wartete bis ich etwas einschicken könne, liegt darin, dasz ich keinem Buchhändler gern einschliesze, da ich gegenwärtig gegen ihr Interesse operiere (gegen den verjährten Miszbrauch bei Nord Deutschen Werken den Th.[aler] zu 2 fl[orinen] anzusetzen) und doch eine kurze Notiz das Porto nicht wert ist.

Hier erhalten Sie einige Xenien auf das Schiller-Monument.¹⁸

¹⁷ Of the names mentioned in this paragraph, all residents of Rom or Milan, I have been unable to locate Volland or Menini. Riepenhausen (Johannes) was a painter and copper etcher, famous for his crayon drawings to *Faust* and other works. Georg August Kestner (1777-1853), generally known as "der römische Kestner," was an art critic and minister from Hanover to Rom. After 1817 he had made Rom his home. Philipp Foltz (1805-1877), animal, history and genre painter, went to Rom in 1835. He became professor at the Munich Academy, 1839.

¹⁸ The first Schiller statue, by Thorwaldsen, was unveiled in Stuttgart, May 8, 1839.

Ihr Jahrbuch hält sich doch nicht so streng im rein Wissenschaftlichen dasz ich befürchte, Sie nehmen diese Pfefferkörner nicht an. Besorgen Sie nicht dasz das Gesagte zu kühn sein möchte, ich habe das Urtheil von Kennern für mich. Da neuerdings die Pietisten stark operieren, und dem Fest alle Hindernisse, die sie können, bereiten so hat mich dies wieder für die Sache gerührt und ich habe daher noch ein letztes Epigramm "Sinnesänderung" angeklebt, wobei die Parenthese "nachgesandt" gewisz abzdrukken ist.¹⁹ Ich unterschreibe per Spasz Beelzebub, denn völlige Anonymität kann ich nicht leiden und doch mag ich hier, wo mir die Pietisten-Rotte amtlich beikönnnte, meinen Namen nicht unterschreiben. Erkennen thut man mich im Vaterland, das weisz ich, an der ersten Zeile.

Den Ulrici²⁰ würde ich gerne nehmen, wenn es mir nicht an Vorstudien über Shakespeare und an Zeit fehlte. Ich musz jetzt auf einige Zeit Urlaub von Ihrem Blatte nehmen, denn ich reise Anfang August nach Italien, (Venedig, Mailand, Genua, Florenz, Neapel) und nachher, ist das Glück gut, nach Athen. Bis dahin nehmen Vorarbeiten jeder Art nebst einer Vorlesung alle Zeit weg, und Sie wissen wir Schwaben arbeiten langsam. Vielleicht kann ich Ihnen von Italien aus über neuere Kunst oder dem Aehnliches schicken.

Könnten Sie oder Echtermeyer mir durch Gelegenheit ein paar gute Adressen nach Italien zugehen lassen so wäre ich recht dankbar.

Lassen Sie bald rezensieren "Ueber den modernen Pietismus" von Märklin,²¹ ein ganz braves Buch.

Bleiben Sie mir nur unter allen Umständen immer überzeugt, dasz ich jede Zeit und Kraft zu Nebenarbeiten immer vor allem Ihrer Zeitschrift zuwende, aber vergessen Sie nicht, dasz ich, ein angehender Docent, fast in jedem Semester mich in einem ganz

¹⁹ Vischer had attacked the Pietists in print at least once before. In 1838 he had contributed a sharp, sparkling, comprehensive article to Ruge's magazine, *Dr. Strauss und die Würtemburger*, in which he defended his friend Strauss against attacks by the Church and Swabian pietism.

²⁰ Hermann Ulrici (1806-1884), aesthete and Shakespeare student, was professor of philosophy in Halle. His *Shakespeares dramatische Kunst* was published in Halle in 1839. As president of the German Shakespeare society, he edited a new edition of Tieck's Shakespeare translation, and wrote a history of the English dramatist and his work.

²¹ Christian Märklin was the third member in the friendship circle: Vischer, Strausz, Märklin. All were "Repetenten" in Tübingen at the same time.

neuen Stoff zu Vorlesungen hineinarbeiten musz und erst wenn noch ein paar Jahre herum sind, die Hände frei habe.

Grüenzen Sie den lieben Echtermeyer herzlich.

Der Ihrige

FR. VISCHER

Tübingen d. 2. May 1839.

Ich ersuche Sie die Xenien zu ungesäumtem Abdruck einzuschicken und für mich 6 Abzüge zu bestellen.

6

Sie werden sich wundern, lieber H[err] Doktor, schon wieder etwas von mir zu bekommen und zwar etwas, das fast wie eine Zumuthung aussieht. Da Reinh. Köstlin Ihnen den Mörike anzeigte so sendete ich meine Arbeit an die Berl.[iner] Jahrb[ücher]. Diese schicken mir nun die Anzeige des Nolten zurück mit dem Bedeuten, der Nolten sei schon zu alt²² und nicht ausgezeichnet genug.

Ich sage mit ganzer Ueberzeugung, dasz ich diese Novellen dem Publikum zu empfehlen für Pflicht halte. Meine Arbeit kommt mir bei wiederholter Durchsicht nicht schlecht vor. Köstlin hat diese Novellen nur berührt. Ich darf daher die Bitte wohl aussprechen, dasz Sie den Artikel aufnehmen möchten, wo anders Ihnen das Gefühl, zu nehmen was andere Leute verschmähten, nicht ansteigt, oder Sie nicht stört.²³

Ich hoffe Sie haben meine Epigrammen erhalten, und wiederhole dasz diese ephemeren Sächelchen schleunigste Beförderung bedürfen, um nicht zu lang post festum zu kommen.

Stets zugethan

Ihr Freund

Tübingen den 5. May, 1839.

FR. VISCHER

7

Lieber Freund!

Ich hätte bälde geschrieben, aber ich wartete seither auf ein Exemplar der Günderode²⁴ dasz mir Strausz leihen wird aber aus

²² Mörike's *Maler Nolten* had appeared in 1832.

²³ Ruge accepted the article for his *Jahrbuch*, and it was printed immediately. A review of Mörike's poems appeared simultaneously in the *Berliner Jahrbücher*, July, 1839.

²⁴ *Die Günderode* (1840), by Bettina v. Arnim, based on the unhappy life

einer Circulation unter zarten Händen noch nicht hat zurückziehen können. Sobald ich sie habe gehe ich ans Werk. An die [] Skizzen aber kann ich mich diesen Winter unmöglich machen, denn ich bin in ein Geschäft hineingekommen das es mir bis an den Mund geht; nächsten Sommer werde ich freyer athmen. Unleugbar sind die letzten Arbeiten wohl vorherrschend politisch, und darauf verstehe ich mich gar nicht; findet sich daher inzwischen ein anderer Kritiker so überlassen Sie es diesem.— Die Fragmente zur Geschichte des Costüms²⁵ werde ich zu bekommen suchen, ich habe sie noch nicht auftreiben können.— Diesen Winter werde ich wohl nichts als die Günderröde bearbeiten können, meine drei Vorlesungen wollen alle Zeit.²⁶ Ueber die Münchnerspiele kann ich nicht schreiben ehe ich noch einmal dort gewesen, denn das letzte Mal war mir durch halbe Unpäßlichkeit, zuletzt durch einen schlimmen Fusz verbittert. Ich habe eine zu wenig specielle Kenntniss. Ich freue mich aber darauf das einmal nachzuholen.

Vielen Dank für Ihre gütigen Vorschläge über eine Situations-Veränderung.

Nach Berlin, da habe ich aber keinen Magen dieser Regierung zu dienen. Ueberdiesz man würde mich nicht nehmen. Ich bin viel weniger Literaturhistoriker als wissenschaftlicher Aesthetiker. Hotho²⁷ hat ganz meine Fächer und da ist also kein Bedürfnis vorhanden. Ich will mich aber doch wenn ich wieder nach Göttingen reise, an Götting,²⁸ meinen lieben Reisegesellschafter auf den Griechischen Dornenwegen zwischen den himmlischen Bergen und Ufern wenden. Es sieht doch schlimm in Deutschland aus, da auch Preuszen kein Zufluchtsort des freien Geistes zu werden die Miene macht. Gegen den auf eurem Thron ist der ehrlose Simpel auf dem Oesterreichischen ganz respectabel.²⁹ Die Huldigungsrede hat

of Karoline von Günderröde, poetess and friend of Wilhelm von Humboldt, who killed herself in 1806.

²⁵ I have been unable to trace this work; but it is of little consequence.

²⁶ Vischer had just returned from Italy and was much occupied.

²⁷ Heinrich Gustav Hotho (1802-1873), writer on art, was Professor in Aesthetics and the History of Art at the University of Berlin. He was a prominent Hegelian, and Vischer had attended his lectures on Goethe as a poet, in Berlin, 1833.

²⁸ Karl Wilhelm Götting (1793-1869), philologist and writer on classical antiquities, accompanied Vischer on his travels in Greece.

²⁹ Ferdinand I (Ferdinand V of Hungary) was still on the Austrian throne, while Frederick William IV had ascended the throne of Prussia on June 7, 1840.

bei uns allgemeine Verachtung erregt, durch die schmähhch sentimentale Berufung auf Gott.

Ich werde Ihnen sogleich mit der Günderode einen Artikel über hiesige Vorfälle schicken, über den Streit, als es sich um die Anstellung Märklins zum Professor der Dogmatik handelte und über die nun erfolgte Ernennung Elwerts;³⁰ namentlich aber über das Benehmen Ewalds,³¹ dessen Arroganz längst eine Rüge bedarf, und wie derselbe in der philosophischen Facultät den Durchfall eines Candidaten zum Doktorat durchsetzte, der unter unsere talentvollsten jungen Leute gehört aber bei Ewald nicht gehört hat.

Ein gutes Neujahr, den Redactoren und dem Blatte!

Ihr Freund

FR. VISCHER

Tübingen d. 22 Dec. 1840.

8

Lieber Herr Doktor!

Hier ein mäsiger Aufsatz, dem Drange der Amtsarbeiten abgedrungen. Er sagt nichts Neues, aber er kann doch vielleicht wirken. Von Ewald habe ich geschwiegen, weil er sicherlich in die gemeinsten Persönlichkeiten ausbrechen würde.

Verlassen Sie sich darauf dasz ich, und wenn es gälte, die ertrinkende Menschheit aus dem Wasser zu ziehen, in diesem Semester nicht mehr leisten konnte. Ich hatte am Anfang desselben gar nicht überrechnet, und es war auch noch nicht möglich zu wissen, wie viel mir auf den Hals kommt. So habe ich mich an die Lektüre der Günderode gemacht, aber ich konnte nur ganz zerstückelt lesen, das verhinderte schon jeden Total-Eindruck. Ich fand ferner meine Persönlichkeit zu heterogen, diese kunsthaft gesteigerte und doch wieder so tiefe, geistreiche Weiblichkeit unbefangen zu empfinden. Das gab mir solche Misstimmung, dasz ich das Buch weglegen muszte und Sie bitten es einem andern zu übertragen.

Habe ich wieder mehr Lust so will ich schon etwas für Sie finden.

Strausz lässt Ihnen für Ihren Brief bestens danken, und antwortet, den Bauer³² rezensieren könne er nicht übernehmen, aber, wenn man ihm Zeit bis August liesze, Conrad's Kritik der Christischen Dogmen.

³⁰ Eduard Elwert (1805-1865), philologist and Protestant theologian. He was Professor of Theology in Tübingen, 1839-1841.

³¹ Cf. note 15.

³² Bruno Bauer (1809-1882), theologian and Biblical critic.

Für den Musenalmanach des nächsten Jahres bitte ich Sie von mir Folgendes aufzunehmen wörtlich wie ich es hier setze:

An Eduard Mörike
Dieweil Sie nun sind Christtags-Waar,
Will man sie nicht das ganze Jahr.³³

Der hat Ihnen rechten Bafel geschickt. Er geht in der nebulosesten Romantik unter, wir haben für ihn gethan, was wir konnten, aber er steckt doch zu fest.

Bleiben Sie gut
Ihrem Freunde

FR. VISCHER

Ich ersuche Sie, diesen Aufsatz recht bald aufzunehmen, damit er noch von Wirkung sein kann in der Besetzung der Stelle;³⁴ und erbitte mir 2 Exemplare von der Verlagshandlung.

9

Lieber Freund!

Ich danke für die freundlichen Zeilen und hätte Ihnen gerne schon wieder etwas geschrieben, wenn nicht das alte Hinderniss, die Amtsgeschäfte, mich abgehalten hätten. Ich arbeite auf ein neues Collegium über Shakespeare³⁵ und halte daneben zwei andere. Jedes Semester ein Aufsatz, wie bisher machen werde ich, so lange diese Jahre des Umarbeitens alter und Ausarbeitens neuer Vorlesungen dauern, werde ich eingeben können. Ich möchte Ihnen über die Aquarell-Kopien Ramboux in Düsseldorf etwas schicken,³⁶ namentlich um eine Vervielfältigung dieser trefflichen Reihenfolge anzuregen, aber ich habe den Catalogen verloren den ich aus Düsseldorf mitgebracht und musz warten bis ich wieder einen kriege. Schlagen Sie mir für diesen Winter etwas vor,— etwas Poetisches oder dergleichen zu beurtheilen — wozu ich nicht viele Stunden nehmen musz. Ich nähme gleich den fünften Band Gervinus, aber dasz will Arbeit, Vertiefung, Studien, zu denen mir die Musze gebriht.

³³ Vischer gives a partial explanation directly, in following sentences.

³⁴ See postscript to following letter. Sigwart (Christoph Wilhelm von, 1789-1844, writer on philosophical subjects) had just resigned as Professor of Philosophy in Tübingen, 1841, and Vischer obviously hoped that Reiff might be his successor.

³⁵ Vischer lectured on Shakespeare during the winter semester of 1841-1842.

³⁶ Cf. following letter. *Die Aquarell-Copieen von Ramboux in der Gallerie zu Düsseldorf* appeared in *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, 1842.

Sie sehen dasz ich nicht abfalle wie Strausz. Sie haben ihn durch die Anzeige von Bruno Bauers Schrift beleidigt und er greift als eine scharfe Natur in solchen Fällen rasch durch. Wohl aber bin ich, mit Zeller,³⁷ auf Ihre *Verlagshandlung* nicht wenig böse, dasz alle vorgemachten Bedingungen, alles Mahnen und Bitten uns keine Abzüge von unseren Arbeiten soll verschaffen können. Meine Verlegenheiten³⁸ etc. schrieb ich namentlich, um auf unsern Minister einen Eindruck hervorzubringen, er verlangt wirklich den Aufsatz zu lesen, ein Freund von mir in der Kanzlei sollte ihm ein Exemplar geben, ich hatte dringend darum geschrieben — vergebens, man hat beschlossen dasz wir unsere eigenen Sachen nicht gedruckt besitzen sollen. Sagen Sie der Verlagshandlung, dasz ich gewisz nie mehr etwas schreibe wenn sich dies wiederhole.—

Auch in der Bezahlung der Honoraren ist keine Regelmäßigkeit. Für den genannten Aufsatz habe ich noch nichts bekommen,— für den über Overbeck's Bild³⁹ auch nicht (doch der letztere fällt wohl in das neue Zahlungsjahr.)

Ich komme auch einmal nach Dresden,⁴⁰ und freue mich, die Kunstsammlungen mit Ihnen zu sehen. Ich wünsche Ihnen und der Zeitschrift alles Wohlergehen. Herzlich grüßend

Ihr Freund

VISCHER

Tübingen 25. Dec. 1841.

Bei uns gehts schlimm. Da beruft man an Sigwarts Stelle den Damen-Philosophen Chalibäus von Kiel und stößt Reif⁴¹ auf die Seite. Weit die Mehrzahl im Senat ist gegen das Gute, der König von seinem Groszpfaffen Grüneisen ebenfalls bearbeitet.— Von den "Verlegenheiten" und Overbeck's Bild hoffentlich also in Bilde je zwei Abzüge.

³⁷ Eduard Zeller (1814-1908), theologian and philosopher.

³⁸ The full title of the article was: *Über allerhand Verlegenheiten bei Besetzung einer dogmatischen Lehrstelle in der gegenwärtigen Zeit*. This is the article to which reference is made in the previous letter. It was a recommendation of Hegelian theologians for academic and other official positions and was published in 1841.

³⁹ *Der Triumph der Religion in den bildenden Künsten*, which applied the Hegelian spirit to the province of art, was based on a painting by Joh. Fr. Overbeck (1789-1869). It appeared in *Deutsche Jahrbücher* in 1841.

⁴⁰ Ruge and his periodical had now moved to Dresden. Cf. Introduction.

⁴¹ Heinrich Moritz Chalibäus (1796-1862); Jacob Friedrich Reiff (1810-1879), Sigwart's substitute; in next sentence, Karl von Grüneisen (1802-1878), a writer on theological subjects.

10

Lieber Freund!

Sie erhalten hier von meiner Anzeige der Copieen von Ramboux in Düsseldorf einstweilen den ersten Theil, allgemeine Betrachtungen über den Zustand der jetzigen Kunst enthaltend. Ich wollte Ihnen das Ganze schicken, aber ich sah mitten in der Arbeit ein dasz mir ein gedruckter Katalog der 130 bis jetzt aufgehängten Blätter nicht genügt, dasz ich ein schriftliches Verzeichniss von sämmtlichen (etwa 800) Blättern haben musz, schrieb noch einmal nach Düsseldorf und erwarte darauf erst die Antwort. Damit Sie nun nicht zu lange warten müssen, schicke ich inzwischen diese erste Hälfte, der ich eine besondere Ueberschrift gab. Sie geht bis Seite 17, zu den Worten "die Fortsetzung folgt." Von da an dann die zweite Abtheilung mit der Ueberschrift "2. die Copieen." *Schärfen Sie der Verlagshandlung doch ja ein, dasz sie dieses letzte Blatt nicht verliert, sondern bis ich das übrige nachschicke, wohl aufbewahre.* Ich kann nicht genau sagen wann das Uebrige nachfolgen wird; lassen Sie inzwischen den ersten Theil getrost abdrucken. Ich denke es enthält Wahrheit und greift organisch in die Ideen Ihres Blattes ein.

Sie beklagen sich über unsere Unthätigkeit. Sie suchen den Grund in Indolenz und Provinzial-Interessen. Es ist aber nichts als die Amtsgeschäfte was uns hindert. Mir wenigstens steckt es Jahr aus Jahr ein im Kopfe, etwas für Sie zu schreiben, aber ich könnte Ihnen und wenn mir die Engel im Himmel anlägen nicht mehr schicken, als ich thue. Sie erwägen immer nicht wie wir in Berufsarbeiten stecken. Es ist wahr dasz sich gewaltsam Zeit erhaschen liesze, mehr zu thun, und hier tritt allerdings unser provinziales Temperament ein, das nach anhaltender Arbeit gehörige Erholung will. Norddeutsche Federn arbeiten mit mehr Leichtigkeit, wir nehmen eine Arbeit schwerer, es kostet einen Entschlusz und wir gehen Abends in die Kneipe. Dennoch habe ich Ihnen, zum Beispiel im vorletzten Winter, da ich zwölf Stunden täglich so arbeiten musste dasz ich mir ein Nerven-Kopfweh zuzog, einen Aufsatz geliefert. Diesz erwähne ich nun, damit Sie den guten Willen sehen.

Ich habe Ihnen einen Freund als Mitarbeiter für künftig zu empfehlen. Es ist Diaconus Kern⁴² in Weikersheim bei Mergent-

⁴² Probably Fr. Heinrich Kern, Vischer's former teacher of Classics in Blaubeuren.

heim. Signalement: Ueberzeugung: die unsrige, radical. Talent: schnell, rasch, feurig. Darstellung: lebhaft. Gelehrsamkeit: unterbrochen durch Entfernung von Hilfsmitteln und pädagogischen Beruf. (Er ist zugleich Präzeptor.) Daher schicken Sie ihm Aufgaben die wenig Orientiertsein auf grösseren gelehrten Gebieten verlangen. Zum Beispiel, Aesthetik, Biographie, Geschichte soweit sie ohne Quellenkunde zu beurteilen ist, *Pädagogik*. Die Briefe schlieszen Sie gelegentlich Landsleuten oder Buchhändlern ein; sie gehen aber unter obiger Adresse schnell auf der Post an den Ort ihrer Bestimmung. Kern ist zwar ebenfalls vollends beschäftigt aber hier tritt auch die Rücksicht auf Erwerb ein; früh geheiratet, sechs Kinder, und schlechte Besoldung.

Meine Absicht ist, im gegenwärtigen Sommer noch die Nibelungen Prachtausgabe anzuzeigen, und dabei von unsern Heldensagen zu reden.⁴³

Tiecks Novellistik im Allgemeinen kann ich nicht nehmen, ich müszte zu Vieles wieder lesen. Wenn er wieder etwas dichtet, geben Sie mirs. Haben Sie gute Ruhe, dasz er nicht zu flott wekommt und dem Hofpoeten nicht der Balg gestrichen wird — Ich nehme an den Schicksalen Ihres Blattes den unmittelbarsten Antheil und wünsche von Herzen baldige Besserung.⁴⁴

Ihr Freund

Tübingen d. 18 May 1842

FR. VISCHER

11

Lieber Freund!

Hier haben Sie das Schmerzenskind.⁴⁵ Ein ganz confuser Katalog hat mich fast zur Verzweiflung gebracht und ich habe nicht leicht etwas mit mehr Mühe gearbeitet; doch hoffe ich, den schwer beherrschten Stoff durch Gedankengehalt gewürzt und flüszig gemacht zu haben. Nimmt man nun meine verschiedenen Aufsätze über Kunstgegenstände in Ihrer Zeitschrift zusammen, so denke ich, wird man ein rundes Ganze mit einem deutlichen Princip haben,

⁴³ Later, in 1844, Vischer published in *Kritische Gänge, Vorschlag zu einer Oper*, in which he recommended the Nibelungensaga as a text for a large national heroic opera and outlined the material dramatically. It is noteworthy that Wagner's *Der Ring der Nibelungen* did not appear until nine years later.

⁴⁴ Ruge's periodical was being published under the constant fear of suppression. The clouds were already gathering, and after a time its rights were withdrawn entirely. The editor then went into exile in Paris and Switzerland.

⁴⁵ That is, the completed article on the "Aquarell-Copieen" by Ramboux. Cf. note 36.

welches ganz in die Bestrebungen unserer Zeit und Wissenschaft eingreift.

Wenn ich über Bruno Bauer recht unterrichtet bin, so ist seine Meinung, dasz die Erzählungen des N[eu]en T[estaments] nicht Mythen sondern reflectirte und absichtliche Dichtungen sind. Für eine solche Meinung, welche alles Völkerleben und alle Bildungsgesetze des Geistes verkennt, kann man schwerlich Sympathie haben; ich musz darin mit meinen Landsleuten eine krankhafte Aufblasung finden. Es wird Ihnen im Kampfe gegen die Theologen nicht helfen sondern nur schaden, und ich fürchte, dasz Ihnen eine üble Scharte bleibt. Eine Theologie musz es vor der Hand noch so nothwendig geben als Jäger, so lange es Wild gibt. Der Jäger liebt sein Wild das er umbringt, und so wollen wir auch den Theologen Raum vergönnen, die kritisch und doch Männer von Fach sind. Hier ist eine besondere Gelehrsamkeit des Faches nothwendig, welcher gegenüber man noch allerhand Böcke machen kann.

Ob ich an die Nibelungen-Vignetten noch in diesem Sommer komme, kann ich nicht gewisz sagen, ich musz daran gehen einige interessante Briefe von Schubart ⁴⁶ herauszugeben.

Haben Sie die Güte beiliegendes Blatt gewisz mit meinem Aufsatz an Wigand ⁴⁷ abzuschieken.

Ich bin begierig, ob Sie sich nach Berlin übersiedeln werden, und wünsche Ihnen allerorten die besten Erfolge.

Ihr Freund

VISCHER

Tübingen d. 8ten Juli 1842

Sie erinnern sich, dasz die ersten Zeilen dieses zweiten Theils meines Aufsatzes schon in Leipzig sind.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The famous C. F. D. Schubart (1739-1791), poet and musician, whose revolutionary *Deutsche Chronik* (1774), brought down upon the author the wrath of Duke Karl Eugen of Württemberg, and as a result of which Schubart was imprisoned for a period of ten years.

⁴⁷ Ruge's publisher in Leipzig.

⁴⁸ Lastly the present editor wishes to express his appreciation to Mr. William A. Speck for kind suggestions, and invaluable help in deciphering the singularly difficult handwriting of these letters.

HINTS OF THE SOCIAL DRAMA OF DUMAS FILS AND AUGIER IN THE PLAYS OF SCRIBE

By CHARLES E. YOUNG
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Dumas fils is commonly considered the creator of the social drama or *pièce à thèse*, so popular in France since 1850. The purpose of this paper is not to attempt to discredit this view, but to show that certain plays of Scribe contain material that foreshadows this type of play.

We are all well aware of the position occupied by Scribe in the history of the French drama for the last hundred years. He is the exponent of the *pièce bien faite*. Scribe's interest in the theatre was chiefly commercial. He wrote to please the public and thereby fill the house and his own pockets. He was no preacher, no reformer. There is no desire to claim anything for him that the critics deny him. He did not take his work very seriously. Dumas and Augier did not take him seriously, but they took over his type of play and added to it a thesis or sermon. Very likely they saw some of his plays, and were otherwise acquainted with them.

In his "discours de réception" at the Academy Scribe claims that comedy seldom reflects conditions of contemporary society. At the present time — 1835 — he says, the stage is filled by plays that portray murder, incest, adultery, all the vices, yet never was French society so correct, so regular, so humdrum. Now the sort of play to which he refers is well exemplified by some of the plays of the elder Dumas.

The elder Dumas' *Anthony* may well be considered one of the points of departure of the work of the son. *Anthony* is merely a romantic play of violent passions, exalting love and the lover above duty and the husband. It is a fine example of the eternal triangle play, but it contains no hint of sermon or reform. If this play has any significance for the social play, there is less doubt as to the correctness of the contention for Scribe.

Scribe, alone or in collaboration, produced hundreds of plays.

Not a great number have been examined for this paper. It seemed best to consider only those dealing with contemporary French life. However, the fact that the number of plays considered is small is not of necessity a handicap. The fact that in a limited number material is found is more convincing than if more ground had to be covered to get the evidence.

Titles are often suggestive. A few are presented that ought to be suggestive to those who are familiar with the social drama:

Une faute
Une chaîne
Le mariage d'argent
Dix ans dans la vie d'une femme
Un mariage de raison
La fille de trente ans
La famille Biquebourg ou le mariage mal assorti
Oscar ou le mari qui trompe sa femme

Le mariage d'argent is a story of speculation and love that offers parallels with *La question d'argent*. M. Dorbeval, a rich banker, married a poor girl, and finds satisfaction in the thought that he has done a good deed and that his wife must do his will because she is so much indebted to him. He says that he could indulge in the luxury of a "mariage d'inclination," but that a poor man would be foolish to marry without considering the question of dowry. The wife of Dorbeval gives the other side of the picture. She says that marrying for money is well enough at first but that the glamour soon fades and there is nothing left to give real happiness. She is saddened by the fact that her husband can reproach her with the benefits he has conferred upon her.

In this same play a rich woman is about to wed a poor man. She expresses herself just as M. Dorbeval has done with regard to the hold she will have on her husband, who will thus be bound to do her pleasure in everything. Note the parallels found in *La question d'argent*, where Durieu and Jean Giraud present the advantages of money. To complete the parallel this play also contains a plea for a love match. Dorbeval tells a friend who has just made a lucky speculation and is about to make a conventional marriage that he now has all the gifts of fortune. Mme. Dorbeval, who knows he is not wedding the one he loves, adds: "except happiness."

Dix ans dans la vie d'une femme affords interesting comparisons

with *La femme de Claude*, *Le mariage d'Olympe* and *Diane de Lys*. It presents the career of a woman who through sheer perversity, falls from virtue to the lowest stage of degradation. She is too vicious to be saved, but the author offers no suggestion of punishment and draws no moral lesson.

Both Augier and Dumas held that equality of fortune and position were needed to insure happy marriage. Augier in his *Un beau mariage* urged that talent be considered sufficient to offset lack of wealth or position. Scribe usually agrees with the first proposition, but in *Une chaîne* and *Le puff* we find the same willingness to substitute talent for wealth or position. In the former a poor composer, in the latter a poor man of letters are considered suitable matches for rich girls.

Dumas fils in *Francillon* protests against a dual standard of sex morality, and maintains, or almost maintains, the right of a wife to indulge in post nuptial irregularities, if her husband does so. In *Oscar ou le mari qui trompe sa femme* Scribe presents the same idea. Scribe's play is comic to a high degree, while Dumas' is serious, almost tragic.

Dumas often touches upon the love match. He regards it as an ideal, seldom realized and of doubtful desirability. He believes that happy marriages must usually rest upon more solid bases. In *Un mariage de raison* Scribe reaches the same conclusions. In this little play a father tells his son of his unhappy experience with a "mariage d'inclination," and how he later married a woman he did not really love, but whose good qualities he did appreciate. Love came later, not violent passion, but real solid love, ripened by time and their mutual good fortune. This play also suggests *Le gendre de M. Poirier*, for it tells of another marriage entered into from sordid motives that turns out well later when true values are realized.

The plays of Scribe cited were all written previously to 1850, the date assigned as marking the first activities of Dumas fils in the field of the social drama. The examples given illustrate the title of this paper. Probably whatever parallels or hints have been found are accidental. It is doubtful if Dumas or Augier was consciously influenced by these plays, but the comparisons are there and not the less interesting because accidental.

THE ELIZABETHAN HEXAMETRISTS

By B. M. HOLLOWELL
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If history has ever inflicted upon any sect or group of people the full measure of ignominy for their sins, it has surely done so with the small company of scholars who first tried to introduce the classical prosody into English. These men, with the best of intentions, dreamed of remodeling the poetry of their own country according to the ancient rules, and the fate of reformers who fail has been visited upon them without pity. If they had attacked the prevailing principles of government or theology, or anything else which is of vital concern to the bodily or spiritual welfare of a nation, there would have been plenty of commentators to apologize for them and search through any amount of straw for the grain of good sense; but since the conventions which they tried to upset affect habit and taste rather than democracy or salvation, they get no sympathy. Professor Saintsbury, for instance, refers to the movement as "a curious measles or distemper,"¹ and others generally make their comments in the same tone of voice. Perhaps most of us regard the whole affair less seriously than he does, but orthodox opinion looks down on it as one of the inexplicable, queer things which people used to do. Somehow, we can not quite make ourselves believe that they really meant all that they said in favor of it, or, if they did, that they had normal control over their faculties. We know that there never can be such a thing as quantitative verse in English just as we know that there are no ghosts — teacher said so. Therefore the Elizabethans must have known it too, and were merely engaged in a conspiracy to spoof us.

In spite of the humanness of such reasoning, however, it remains exceedingly well substantiated that the new movement was taken very seriously by a good many people, especially between the years 1570 and 1590, and some of them not only were entirely respectable

¹ Saintsbury, *History of English Prosody*. London, 1906-1910. Vol. II, p. 168.

people, but also have been rated rather high as to intelligence. Edmund Spenser, for instance, is usually conceded to have had very good judgment as to when he was making good poetry, and Sir Philip Sidney is credited with being a sensible person in other ways as well. With them were grouped a number of less important but more prolific figures, such as Stanyhurst, Webbe, and the anonymous author of *The Preservation of King Henry VII*, all of whom were at least very much in earnest about the new system. Of the "Areopagus" too much has been made already, considering that we know very little about it, and have no reason to think that it was any such definite or serious organization as some writers assume.² Sidney himself, however, must have put a good deal of time on the fad, and has left us most of the actual verse which we have from that group. Even after he gave it up as a necessity for English poetry, he still maintained staunchly that the language was capable of that sort of verse as well as of the familiar variety.³ Other men clung to their faith with even more persistence.

And before we go too far in assuming that either these men or their age were not entirely serious over the new panacea for the English Muse, we must also face the fact that not only were men of importance prescribing it, and showing every sign of sincere confidence in it, but their contemporaries, whether in agreement or not, were accepting their opinions about it with entire respect. During all the time when the main part of the experimenting was going on, there was no voice raised against it. It was only in the last years of the century, when most of the promoters themselves had already abandoned it, that jeers began to be heard from men like Nashe and Hall. While the movement was still on, the doubters kept very quiet.

We are not justified, then, in treating it as a fashion which not only passed quickly but was never preached very sincerely; and, since the ghost will not be laid in that way, we can down it only by calling the whole affair a noisy stir made by pedants of the

² To compare it with the Pléiade in France, as is commonly done, is quite unjustified. The Pléiade announced itself generously, and launched a public campaign; the "Areopagus" kept thoroughly quiet, and there is no evidence that even its existence was known to any one but the members and Gabriel Harvey. Even its membership is uncertain and subject to frequent misstatements. Sidney and Dyer were two of them, and Spenser probably another, though his exact relation to the rest is not clear. Harvey just as certainly did not belong, but took the attitude of an interested spectator. See Gregory Smith's *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, Vol. II, pp. 89, 94.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 204.

oldest and worst school, who were blind as to what was going on under their very eyes in the world of poetry. An attitude approaching that has been taken by nearly every one who has written about the subject. It is assumed that the cause was, from the beginning, not only senseless but tasteless—an affectation among a group of scholars bound down by tradition to praising nothing but the classics, and to following no methods for which there was not ancient authority. ✓

As a matter of fact, for men of that time to take some such position would not have been unjustified. Remember that the high tide of the movement was in the later seventies, and then consider what the state of English poetry was at that time. Chaucer was the only English author whom any one would now consider of the first class, and the change in the pronunciation of the language had, for the people of the sixteenth century, turned his rhythm into impossible stumblings. Hawes and Skelton and Barclay had passed into deserved oblivion. Wyatt and Surrey and Sackville had performed creditably, but their output was small, and had already become part of the history, not of the living present, of poetry. To uphold the honor of English song there were only Gascoigne, Turberville, Whetstone, Googe, Churchyard, and their like, most of whom are now known to fewer people than is this debate over a substitute for them. The great Elizabethan chorus was heard for the first time in the prelude of 1579, and even the *Shepherd's Calendar* was in some ways an experiment. There was no hint of the real poetry to follow. The outlook as a whole was over a flatly mediocre landscape.

Opposed to the efforts of these native poetasters were the great classics, all of which could be directly appreciated by the schoolmen of the time. In our own day of mistaught Greek and Latin, we make a struggling translation, with one hand in the dictionary and the other ready to reach for a grammar, and then are content to take the word of our instructor as to what the great scholars have said about the literary merit of the poem or the oration which we say we have read. Yet even under such conditions there are a few peculiar souls who timidly assert to a skeptical, but courteously silent, world that they find real music in the hexameters of Vergil and the odes of Anacreon. They say it with evident sincerity and with some show of reason. Moreover, they demonstrate that, when these antique poems are recited by a competent person, ✓

they do become melodious beyond much of our modern verse, to say nothing of comparing them with what was passing current in the pre-Elizabethan dawn. It is not strange, then, that these older men, who could read the Horatian odes and the great Greek tragedies with their ears as well as with their spectacles, should have realized acutely that the older literature had achieved results in music, as well as in imaginative expression, which their own was hardly echoing even faintly. By 1602, when Campion made his argument, the case was different, but at this earlier date it was nothing less than imperative for any man who really had at heart the perfecting of English poetry to analyze the still new inheritance from Greece and Rome, and try to find out wherein its undeniable superiority lay. The fact was staring him in the face; the problem was to find the reason and to make use of it.

What they actually did under the circumstances was the only natural thing to do. The metrical scheme itself was the most obvious of the differences between the two kinds of poetry, and so, thinking that perhaps that might contain the secret, they transplanted it bodily to English verse and proceeded to cultivate it. They had no guidance then from subtly developed theories of prosody. We can now say with a superior air, as their contemporaries of only ten or twenty years later said, that it is contrary to the nature of the language; but how were they to know it? The only way for them to find out was to take the method over and try it. With their ears tuned for the sort of music they were working for, they caught enough of it to convince them that the thing was possible, and so their first reactions were enthusiastic hopes that something better was on the way; but they knew as well as any one that the game was not yet won. Whatever the first results, their logical course was to give the scheme a fair trial and a thorough one before they came to a decision. Because technique grows slowly, as the accentual verse was still proving, and because inspiration comes at best only seldom in experimental work, it is often hard to be sure whether failure is due to form or to content. Witness Wordsworth's retort to such examples of natural diction as Dr. Johnson's quatrain,⁴ and also Professor Saintsbury's admission in regard to Stanyhurst, the most grotesque of the hexametrists:

His practice is of little use to us, because his apparently insane lingo . . .

⁴ *Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, ed. Nowell C. Smith, London, 1905, p. 37.

can seldom be discarded sufficiently to enable us to judge his versification fairly.⁵

And though other writers may not have failed quite so conspicuously as Stanyhurst did, they had little chance to do anything very creditable because of their lack of good models. They kept on trying, however, till they had convinced themselves that they were on the wrong trail; then they quietly gave it up.

One further charge, too, we lay against these experimenters, that they showed a poor ear for music in not perceiving how harsh⁷ the measures sounded which they were turning out with apparent satisfaction. It is quite possible, however, that sometimes when we condemn their laboratory product as cacophonous and unrhythmical, a part of the trouble is in our own reading. We try to give it the accent that would be required if it were written on our own system, instead of bringing out the length of the syllables, and of course it does not make music then. If we were as conscientious about learning to read and to hear it as its makers were about learning to write it, we might be less emphatic in our criticism. It would take a great deal of careful reading and listening both, it is true, to find much music in Stanyhurst's *Æneid*, but there are occasional stanzas in Sidney and Fraunce which go very well. Undoubtedly Elizabethan ears, better trained in the reading of the Latin masters, caught a sort of music in these trial pieces which was different but real, and which usually escapes at least the American student. It may have been inadequate in the final accounting, but we should be careful about completely denying existence to it till we are sure that the deficiency is not partly in our own perception.

And critics with the diplomatic instinct which foresees all the possible retorts may also become cautious on considering the developments since the middle of the nineteenth century. Some of the greatest poets of that great period found it worth their while to try precisely the same sort of meters, to the frequent satisfaction not only of themselves but also of many of their readers. In fact, Professor Saintsbury notes that there has been an almost continual train of experimenters, leading all the way down from Sidney and Fraunce and Harvey, through Cowper and then Southey, to Tennyson, Clough, Arnold, and Swinburne.⁶ Some of them, like

⁵ *History of English Prosody*, Vol. II, p. 177.

⁶ *History of English Prosody*, Vol. III, p. 394.

Longfellow, have depended mainly on accent, and some, like Bridges, have used a purely quantitative system; but both groups have accomplished results which can hardly be blown aside by a mere "pooh-pooh." In their hands the technique has developed considerably, so that future builders, finding a foundation already laid, may succeed in erecting an edifice of no little attractiveness. And if these men were even partly right, why were Sidney and Harvey entirely wrong?

In defending these hexametrists, both early and late, one is not wandering far from the path in recalling also Wordsworth's plea against "jazz" effects in poetry. He was talking about more restrained subject matter rather than about more subtle meters, but his exorcism is still needed:

For the human mind is capable of being excited without the application of gross and violent stimulants; and he must have a very faint perception of its beauty and dignity who does not know this, and who does not further know that one being is elevated above another in proportion as he possesses this capability. It therefore appeared to me that to endeavor to produce or enlarge this capability is one of the best services in which, at any period, a writer can be engaged; but this service, excellent at all times, is especially so at the present day.⁷

Without pretending that accentual verse is at all condemned on that principle, we may yet receive thoughtfully the plea for encouraging any device of prosody which will tend to increase our power over the more subtle rhythmic effects and to lead to a richer poetry.

Whether verse based on quantity alone will ever become established in English is very doubtful. Nashe and Bacon were probably right when they said that it is contrary to the nature of the language;⁸ but it is not nearly so certain that it may not come to be used in connection with what we already have. Some recent theorists hold that both factors must be taken into account for proper musical effect.⁹ It is not at all impossible that the best verse of a future which may not be very far distant will attend consciously to the syllable length along with the syllable accent

⁷ Wordsworth's *Literary Criticism*, p. 16.

⁸ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, Vol. II, p. 240. *Advancement of Learning*, Bk. VI, ch. I.

⁹ Edwin Guest, *History of English Rhythms*, London, 1838, Vol. I, p. 112. Sidney Lanier, *Science of English Verse*, New York, 1880, pp. 69-78. R. F. Brewer, *Art of Versification and the Technicalities of Poetry*, Edinburgh, 1912, p. 23. F. B. Gummere, *Handbook of Poetics*, p. 138.

in order to produce the perfection of word music which some ultra-Swinburne will teach us how to compose. In such a case, the more enthusiastic of the later historians of English prosody may be speaking with very high respect of these Elizabethan experimenters as so many Roger Bacons playing with one of the secrets of their art centuries before the world was ready for it, and forced to lay it aside because the indifference of the public and the sudden success of the native system drew them back to the traditional forms before they had succeeded in creating anything which could withstand the growing competition from the familiar kind.

Their whole course, then, was almost precisely what it should have been under the conditions of the time. They saw a real ailment, and searched for a remedy for it in what seemed to be the most likely place. They found one which they had a little reason to think might work. When it failed to do all that they had expected of it, they took up with the method which had proved more efficient. Their conduct from beginning to end was distinctly sensible — not to use those crushing words, “modern” and “scientific.” If they failed, it was in not seeing that the two systems are not antagonistic, but can be combined into a higher prosody. Had they stuck by the ship in spite of her seeming lack of progress, they might ultimately have proved her seaworthy enough, and perhaps have brought her to port with a cargo whose total value we might now be able to appraise with some little accuracy instead of speculating over it as one of the problems of literature which is still unsolved.

FRANÇOIS GACON AND HIS ENEMIES¹

By GEORGE B. WATTS

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The period 1690-1730 in French literature, to which the poet and critic François Gacon belongs, has not been studied in complete enough detail, and but scant attention has been paid to this author himself.² In relation to most of the literary celebrities of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, he has a more considerable historical importance than has been granted him. A vitriolic critic, deserving most decidedly a place in Nisard's *Gladiateurs de la République des Lettres*,³ he wielded unceasingly a sharp blade against Boileau, Bossuet, Crébillon, La Motte Houdart, J. B. Rousseau, Voltaire and many others. Without admiring his judgment in literature, we may still study his violent enmities; they substantiate once more the melancholy reflection that outstanding talent seems always to provoke attacks of mediocrity. If, therefore, the narration of Gacon's battles is distinctly unpleasing, nevertheless these encounters are enlightening for the literary history of the times. Nicéron says: "Il ne parassoit aucun ouvrage pour le théâtre, soit comédie, soit opéra que le Poète sans Fard ne lachât une épigramme ou contre l'auteur, ou contre la pièce, souvent même avant qu'elle eut été représentée. Enfin toujours prêt à attaquer et à se défendre, il se mêla indistinctement dans toutes les disputes littéraires de son temps."⁴

His name was during the eighteenth century a synonym for violent and prejudiced criticism. The following lines from the

¹ I am greatly indebted to Professor Gustave L. van Roosbroeck of the University of Minnesota, who called my attention to the Méjanès manuscript of Gacon's unpublished works, and for his suggestions in the preparation of this article. Professor H. Carrington Lancaster of Johns Hopkins University has kindly furnished me with valuable bibliographical material.

² Nicéron, *Mémoires*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 233. — Quérard, *La France litt.* — Goujet, *Bibliothèque fr.*, Vol. III and IV. — *Nouv. Biogr. Génér.* (Firmin Didot) — *Biogr. Univers.* (Michaud) — Rigault, *Histoire de la Querelle des Anciens et Modernes*, 1856, p. 405.

³ Paris, 1860.

⁴ *Mémoires*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 233.

Ode à Monsieur le Duc de Richelieu, sur l'Ingratitude by Voltaire are enlightening as to his opinion of Gacon:

Quel monstre plus hideux s'avance?
 La Nature fuit et s'offense
 A l'aspect de ce vieux giton.
 Il a la rage de Zoïle
 De Gacon l'esprit et le style
 Et l'âme impure de Chausson.⁵

A glance at the several works of Gacon explains why, when he tried to follow in Boileau's footsteps, he succeeded only in making enemies. He took from him only his caustic spirit and none of his aesthetic sense or poised judgment. Little is found in his works that is not directed against a celebrity of the day. His *Poète sans fard*, which had four transformed and increased editions from 1696 to 1701,⁶ is aimed at such distinguished authors as Boileau and Bossuet and at such minor writers as Pradon and Coulanges. His *Homère Vengé*⁷ violently and viciously attacks La Motte Houdart. He is responsible for a falsified edition of the works of Jean Baptiste Rousseau to which he adds his incredibly vituperative *Anti-Rousseau*.⁸ *Le Journal satirique intercepté* is among the early works in which Voltaire is assailed.⁹ There are numerous *Brevets de la Calotte* by Gacon, who was the duly elected "Fabricateur de lettres patentes" of the illustrious Régiment de la Calotte.¹⁰

Besides his printed works there exists also considerable unpublished manuscript. Goujet mentions such material.¹¹ "Le recueil

⁵ Voltaire, *Oeuvres*, 1877, Vol. VIII, p. 422.

⁶ *Le Poète sans fard, ou Discours satiriques*, Cologne (Paris), 1696. *Le Poète sans fard, ou discours satiriques en vers*, Cologne (Lyon), 1697. *Le Poète sans fard, contenant satires, épîtres, et épigrammes sur toutes sortes de sujets*, Libreville (Rouen), 1698. *Le Poète sans fard, ou discours satiriques sur toutes sortes de sujets*, Cologne (Brussels), 1701.

⁷ *Homère Vengé, ou Réponse à M. de la Motte sur l'Iliade*, Paris, 1715.

⁸ *L'Anti-Rousseau*, Rotterdam, 1712. Second edition under title, *Histoire satirique de la vie et des ouvrages de M. Rousseau en vers ainsi qu'en prose*, Paris, 1718.

⁹ *Journal satirique intercepté, ou Apologie de Voltaire et de La Motte*, 1719.

¹⁰ The Régiment de la Calotte, founded by two court officers, Aymon and de Torsac, elected only those who had brought some attention upon themselves through some extraordinary or eccentric action or words. Among the elect were Louis XV, Law, Cardinal de Fleury, Voltaire, Fontenelle, etc. The *Brevet* was a satirical poem announcing the election of the candidate. Cf. *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Calotte*, 1752.

¹¹ Goujet, *Bibl. fr.*, Vol. VII, p. 217.

est demeuré dans les portes-feuilles de l'auteur, et depuis sa mort dans ceux de sa famille." And, in fact, after having disappeared for more than a century the manuscripts come to light again. The Catalogue Cayrol (1861) lists *Différentes Oeuvres de M. Gacon qui ne sont point comprises dans le recueil de ses pièces imprimées*. Fait à Paris le 14 Janvier 1724. Ms. in 4° de 107 pages. The Bibliothèque Méjanès of Aix-en-Provence possesses an interesting manuscript, *Oeuvres de M. Gacon qui ne sont point comprises dans le recueil de ses pièces imprimées*, from which I publish a few extracts in the present article. It contains about one hundred and fifty poems, which are largely unpublished or quite inaccessible. Several of these poems supply us with hitherto unknown data on the literary quarrels of the early eighteenth century as well as with details for Gacon's biography.¹²

One has only to turn to the best known of Gacon's works, *Le Poète sans fard*, to be convinced that his irritability was greater by far than his poetic insight. This title, which he uses as a pseudonym, stresses his outspokenness and his general critical disposition. The seventh rondeau from the manuscript Méjanès, a variant of which occurs in *Homère Vengé* (p. 354), explains the title of his early volume:

Sans fard n'est point une coquette,
 Outre celui de sa toilette,
 Elle en met dans tous ses discours;
 Tels sont maints auteurs de nos jours,
 Même parmi ceux qu'on trompette.
 Je l'ai dit et je le répète,
 Afin que faute n'y soit faite,
 La belle Nature est toujours
 Sans fard.

Aux faux brillants qu'elle rejette,
 La muse moderne est sujette,
 Elle en compose ses atours,
 Et nos rimeurs vont au rebours
 Du chemin que tient le Poète
 Sans fard.

In 1694 there was being waged around Boileau's *Tenth Satire* a wordy and animated battle; an episode for the old quarrel of

¹² In the library of Lyons there is a manuscript made up of letters to and from Gacon, which I intend to publish later.

Man and Woman.¹³ This quarrel appealed to Gacon as an occasion for an argument and he offered his *Satire à Monsieur Déspreaux*.¹⁴ Herein he rebukes Boileau for his attacks on Woman, asking him:

Qu'a donc de si brillant cette informe satire,
Et quels sont les endroits que tu veux qu'on admire?
Sont-ce ces flots amers de bile, et de venin,
Dont tu couvres sans choix le sexe féminin?

He censures Boileau for finding only one woman (Madame de Maintenon) whom he can praise, and inquires:

Crois-tu que cette Hester que tu peins si modeste
Trouve bon qu'on la loue en blâmant tout le reste?

Gacon then ridicules the tale of the Lieutenant Criminel Tardieu, the godfather of Boileau's brother. The reader experiences more ennui than horror at the lengthy narration, and

On rend grace aux voleurs qui viennent à la fin
Du couple trop avare achever le destin.

In the closing lines Gacon delivers his final blow in making use of Boileau's own thoughts and expressions as found in *L'Art Poétique*:

A peine entre deux mille en trouve-t-on deux cents
Qui ne soient ou forcés ou durs ou languissants
Le sens choque dans l'un, en l'autre c'est la phrase
Ils ne sont plus remplis que d'une vaine emphase.¹⁵

Here the thought and the rhyme are taken directly from his illustrious contemporary, who says:

Il réprime des mots l'ambitieuse emphase;
Ici, le sens le choque, et plus loin, c'est la phrase.

Looking for another fight and a worthy adversary, he found Bossuet who had expressed in 1694 his opinion on the theatre in his *Maximes et Réflexions sur la Comédie*. Gacon pointed out in the *Satire à Monseigneur Jacques Benigne Bossuet*¹⁶ that it would be very difficult for the clergy to persuade the people of the advisability of discontinuing theatrical entertainments while the

¹³ Gacon published a brochure, *Épître à Monsieur D. sur son Dialogue ou Satire X*. This satire is also included in the various editions of *Le Poète sans fard*. Cf. Regnard: *Satire contre les Maris*, 1694. Pradon: *Réponse à la Satire X*, 1694, etc.

¹⁴ *Le Poète sans fard*, 1696, p. 7.

¹⁵ Cf. de la Porte, *L'Art Poétique de Boileau, commenté par Boileau et ses Contemporains*, 1888, Vol. I, p. 380.

¹⁶ *Poète sans fard*, 1696, p. 38. Not found in some copies.

clergy were enjoying wealth and luxury. Likewise in the *Satire au Sieur Laurent Pégurier*¹⁷ he scoffed at the illustrious, unknown Pégurier, a "pédant plein d'arrogance" for having tried to create sentiment against the theatre — "un plaisir reconnu de tout temps légitime."

La Motte Houdart's translation of the Iliad and his *Discours sur Homère* (1713) inspired the following year Madame Dacier's volume *Des Causes de la Corruption du Goût*. Gacon felt called upon to take up the defense of Madame Dacier, who for the moment is the Dulcinée of this modern Don Quixote of French literature. Through his inclinations and his relationships Gacon was inclined toward the Ancients and although largely disregarded by the opposing principals, he burst forth, entirely unsolicited, with a most tiresome and bulky attack against La Motte, entitled *Homère Vengé* (1715). This work is much less a documented defense of the Ancients than a mass of slanderous insinuations whereby Gacon tried to win a reputation for himself by exposing his opponent to ridicule.¹⁸ The public, which had become well acquainted with Gacon's inclinations for disputes and wranglings, had apparently expected, as the following quotation from a broadside of the times indicates, that he would not delay in mingling in the dispute:

Mais bientôt Gacon paraîtra
Et l'on ignore s'il sera
A l'un des deux partis contraires;
On ne s'en embarasse guere
Il est sûr qu'il affaiblira
Celui des deux qu'il choisira.¹⁹

Rigault passes over as unimportant the part that Gacon played in the famous quarrel. He speaks of him as one of those "écrivains violents qui se mêlent à toutes les discussions non pour l'honneur de défendre la vérité, mais pour le plaisir de répandre l'injure."²⁰ But Gacon failed to realize his own lack of importance and in an epigram of *Homère Vengé* (p. 405) he represents himself as a member of the select body, to which was entrusted the defense of the Ancients.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁸ He had previously praised him in his *Ode à M. de la Motte*.

¹⁹ *Recueil de Chansons choisies en Vaudeville pour servir à l'histoire anecdotée*, Vol. V, p. 30B. This manuscript is the property of Prof. van Roosbroeck.

²⁰ *Histoire de la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, p. 405.

Paré des dépouilles d'Homère,
 La Motte Houdart, vous croyez plaire
 A deux partis rivaux, jaloux,
 Mais moqué des uns et des autres
 Vous êtes siffle parmi nous
 Et plus encore parmi les autres.

It is quite characteristic of Gacon's uncharitable disposition that he chose to attack J. B. Rousseau just at the time that the latter was nearly overwhelmed by merited or unmerited misfortune. To his *Anti-Rousseau* (Rotterdam, 1712) — an unwieldy collection of rondeaux and ballads — he added some of the documents connected with the famous affair of the Couplets. As Victor Fournel in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* states, here "la violence atteint ses dernières limites." The following epigram of the Méjanès manuscript does not occur in the *Anti-Rousseau*:

Sur Rousseau convaincu de maints lâches forfaits
 Vous me taxez d'avoir trop poussé la satire,
 Mais, sur quiconque en a trop fait
 On n'en saurait jamais trop dire.

Gacon is one of the several French poets of the eighteenth century who were influenced by Marot. A revival of interest in this sixteenth century poet was shown during the early decades of the century. From 1700 to 1731 there appeared at least five editions of his complete works. Jean Baptiste Rousseau had gained the applause of his contemporaries through his successful imitation of Marot's manner, but Gacon claimed on several occasions that Marot would never recognize in Rousseau — ce singe de Marot — one of his disciples. To prove that in his Marotic imitations Rousseau had done nothing out of the ordinary, Gacon demonstrates in his *Anti-Rousseau* that he can write a whole series of rondeaux in this style.²¹

I intend to publish here some other unknown poems by Gacon, drawn from the Méjanès manuscript, and of interest in the literary life of the early eighteenth century.

Voltaire's early plays were greeted by epigrams of the "Poète sans Fard." The following refer to *Oedipe* (1718) and *Mariamne* (1723):

Sur l'Oedipe d' Harrouet
 Damon interrogé dans quel rang il mettrait

²¹ Cf. De Lerber, *L'influence de Cl. Marot aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Lausanne, 1920, p. 94.

L'Oedipe d'aujourd'hui, répondit à l'oreille
 "Fort audessus du jeune Harrouet,
 Fort audessous du grand Corneille."

Sur Mariamne, tragédie

O, triste Mariamne, il faut tomber d'accord
 Que rien n'est plus cruel que ton funeste sort;
 Un tyran par jalousie
 Un rimeur par sa poésie
 Te font souffrir la mort sans rime ni raison:
 Hérode par le feu, Harrouet par le poison.

Another shaft is aimed at Voltaire, as well as at Louis de Boissy²² and Crébillon:

Contre Boissy, Voltaire, et Crébillon

Boissy, Voltaire, et Crébillon,
 Trio de soi fort idolâtre,
 Font un terrible carillon
 A qui remplira le théâtre,
 Depuis que l'Inès²³ sans appas
 S'enrichit dans cette carrière
 Chacun y veut avoir le pas
 Afin d'emplir sa gibecière.

That Crébillon appears also among the pet aversions of the "Poète sans Fard" is not astonishing when it is remembered that he had with him a battle of epigrams. The *Revue Rétrospective* (1834, p. 149 sq.) has published several epigrams exchanged between Crébillon and Gacon, who quarreled about the charms of Madame de Gontaut. They can be supplemented by the following from the Méjanes manuscript:

Contre Crébillon

Lorsque tu te romps la cervelle
 Pour prouver que mes vers parlent mal d'une belle
 Qu'on ne saurait trop estimer,
 A tort par ce moyen tu vises,
 Faux censeur, à t'en faire aimer,
 Elle n'aime pas les sottises.

Gacon seemed never to tire of parodies and criticism of La Motte. The manuscript contains numerous epigrams and rondeaux at La Motte's expense, for example:

²² Boissy attacked Gacon and defended Voltaire in his *l'Elève de Terpsicore ou le Nourisson de la Satire* (Amsterdam, 1718).

²³ *Inès de Castro* by La Motte (1723).

I.

Alexandre à Cherille, et Philippe à La Motte
 Pour des poèmes qu'Aristote
 Eût trouvé durs et mal bâtis
 Donnèrent de fort grosses sommes.
 Ces poètes étaient deux auteurs fort petits
 Et les princes étaient tous deux de très grands hommes.

II.

Quand on accuse Houdart d'être un homme sans mœurs,
 Comme il croit le fait, faux Houdart n'en fait que rire,
 Mais sitôt qu'on le place au rang des froids rimeurs
 Dans une légère satire,
 Il crie, il s'emporte; en un mot,
 Il aime mieux passer pour fripon que pour sot.

III.

Aux anciens La Motte Houdart s'oppose,
 Et va disant qu'en vers ainsi qu'en prose
 Il les surpasse: o ciel, o mœurs!
 Le chardon se prétend, parmi les fleurs,
 Tenir le rang du lis et de la rose;
 En leur faveur tout l'univers dépose;
 N'importe, épris de tout ce qu'il compose
 Il interdit papier, presse, imprimeur,
 Aux anciens.

Pour soutenir cette mauvaise cause
 Depuis trois ans il corrompt texte et glose,
 De nos savants il brave les clameurs,
 Il éblouit les novices rimeurs,
 Et son babil souvent même en impose
 Aux anciens.

The following rondeau is a general declaration of war against the Moderns who attack the Ancients, and against the pedants who do not understand them:

Des beaux esprits tels que Catulle
 Tels qu'Anacréon ou Tibulle
 J'ai toujours fait beaucoup de cas,
 Et tâchant de suivre leurs pas
 J'aime à devenir leur émule,
 Je hais la gent porte-férule
 Qui dans Paris croît et pululle,
 Et veut usurper les états
 Des beaux esprits.

J'attaque encore sans scrupule
 Ces auteurs à grand préambule,
 Et pleins de galimatias,
 En un mot, belle aux doux appas,
 J'en veux à tout le ridicule
 Des beaux esprits.

Although at the time of *Homère Vengé* Gacon considered himself the friend and defender of Monsieur and Madame Dacier, this friendship did not last. In the following poems Gacon accuses Monsieur Dacier of plagiarism, while his wife is said not to know her own tongue:

Rondeau contre Monsieur Dacier

A Fabrini,²⁴ maître Dacier
 Comme un plagiaire grossier
 Avez dérobé tout Horace.
 Pour un tel tour de passe-passe
 Point ne fallait être sorcier;
 Pour paraître un auteur foncier
 Vous fraudez votre créancier,
 Au lieu que deviez rendre grâce
 A Fabrini.

Or, moi, Gacon, Poète huissier
 De par Phébus haut justicier,
 Et sur peine de contumace
 Je vous somme sur le Parnasse,
 De rendre cet ouvrage entier
 A Fabrini.

Epigramme contre Madame Dacier

La Dacier sait l'hébreu, le grec, et le latin;
 L'arabe et l'esclavon n'ont rien d'obscur pour elle;
 Mais quand il faut parler sa langue maternelle
 Elle écrit en périgourdin
 Elle en ignore même et les lois et l'usage;
 Et ce qu'on ne peut concevoir
 Elle sait tout autre langage
 Que celui qu'elle doit savoir.

The following rondeau is an example of Gacon's tendency to slash right and left and to attack indiscriminately. In the affair of the "Couplets" he had been on the side of Saurin against J. B.

²⁴ Giovanni Fabrini, a sixteenth century Italian commentator. Cf. *L'opera d'Oratio commentate da G. F.*, 1566.

Rousseau, but here he has a word to say against Saurin; hitting at the same time Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux*:

Il a besoin d'une vive satire
 Le genre humain, qui toujours devient pire,
 Nous dit Saurin, du *Diable Boiteux*,
 Approbateur jadis si rigoureux
 Qu'il ne souffrait le moindre mot pour rire.
 Or, à présent ce censeur fastueux
 Que cinq cents francs tirent d'entre les gueux
 Nous fait bien voir que du jus d'anticire
 Il a besoin.

Depuis qu'il a rempli sa tirelire
 Il s'imagine avoir droit de tout dire,
 Dans son journal il critique en fougueux
 Mais pour le faire ou taire ou mieux écrire
 Du traitement qu'on fait à chien hargneux
 Il a besoin.

P. C. Roy, the unhappy perpetrator of many a mediocre opera text, who later was to suffer from the attacks of Voltaire, and who might be styled a second Gacon, is satirized early in his career by the "Poète sans Fard." He is baptised "Roitelet" by Gacon and this name clung to him.²⁵

Contre Roy

Roy sous un nom de bon augure
 En cour d'abord a fait figure,
 Mais dès qu'on a vu son ballet
 Roy n'a paru qu'un Roitelet.

Such a series of furious thrusts called forth no less impetuous replies. J. B. Rousseau, Voltaire, Pradon, and other authors of the time fell heavily upon Gacon, who, using a simile in favor at the time, was "kicked down Parnassus" by a unanimous effort. No wonder that he gathered but little profit from his extensive writings. To a general antipathy was added a distressing poverty. He seems to have been at swords' points with his family; he spent several months in prison; in addition he was ruined by the disasters of the Law system. Toward the end of his life he returned to the Catholic church and received the priorship of Baillon in the

²⁵ In a letter from Marais to President Bouhier of August 23, 1734, Vol. XII, p. 161 of the *Archives de la Bastille* the following occurs; "Le Roitelet a fait une nouvelle pièce sur les généraux."

diocese of Beauvais. His was indeed the checkered career of poet, satirist, priest, speculator, and habitué of the Café Procope. He was the loud-mouthed, quarrelsome "mouche du coche"; yet he represents almost better than any one else the contemporary "tradesman of letters"—half a journalist, half a poorly paid satirist; an obscure "nouvelliste à la main"; a real incarnation of Voltaire's *Pauvre Diable*:

Je critiquai sans esprit et sans choix
Impunément le théâtre, la chaire,
Et je mentis pour dix écus par mois.
Quel fut le prix de ma plate manie?
Je fus connu, mais par mon infamie.²⁶

The most distressing fact about Gacon's criticism is that it defends no literary doctrine, no fixed aesthetic principles. A truly Quixotic figure, he fights for the pleasure of fighting. For a time he is inclined toward classicism, as shown in *Homère Vengé* and his Latin translations. Never, however, had classicism a more harmful defender. Madame Dacier could have exclaimed as did Voltaire, "God deliver us from our friends, as for our enemies we can take care of them." And, at the same time, he attacks the classicists: Crébillon, Voltaire, Bossuet, Boileau. In fact, no author of note escapes his criticism, and all too often his method is merely that of abusive, unjustified personalities.

Gacon's career offers us a true and unflattering picture of literary customs of the time—a time in which neither the Bastille nor banishment could effectively discipline the host of satirists. His work is a proof that later, when Voltaire battles with Lefranc de Pompignan, Fréron, and J. J. Rousseau, the tone of the debate, which strikes us now as so violent, was comparatively mild when one takes into account the literary customs and tendencies of the time.

²⁶ Voltaire, *Oeuvres*, Vol. X, p. 104.

CONCERNING REPETITIONS IN GREENE'S ROMANCES

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In the chapter on "Elizabethan Prose Fiction" in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*,¹ J. W. H. Atkins says that Robert Green "resorts in his haste to plagiarism and repetition. He repeats himself without a blush: about thirteen pages of his *Mirroir of Modestie* occur in his *Never too late*, and parts of *Planetomachia* reappear in *Perimedes the Blacksmith*; from *Euphues*, he abstracts numerous similes, while from T(homas B(owes's) translation of Peter de la Primaudaye's *French Academy* (1586), he takes entire passages when they please his fancy."

Atkins's statement, according to a footnote, is based on H. C. Hart's articles in *Notes and Queries*.² In these articles, Hart has treated Greene's prose works, commenting in detail on his borrowings and on his "alarming" habit of indulging in repetition. His habit of transferring bodily certain passages from one of his romances to another, and of repeating, even within the same work, phrase after idiomatic phrase, strikes the most casual reader, to adopt Hart's language, as a "feature of his style."³ These repetitions Hart classifies as "Greenisms"—the short passages and idioms that recur constantly throughout Greene's prose works—and the "larger repetitions," or "wholesale transferences" of long passages, sometimes several pages in length, from one of his works to another. Besides the parallel passages mentioned in Atkins's article, Hart cites two others: *Arbasto, the Anatomie of Fortune* (Grosart, III., p. 192) and *Alcida* (IX., pp. 32, 34); the *Carde of Fancie* (IV., pp. 36, 38, 73, 102, 103) and *Orpharion* (XII., pp. 28, 29, 33, 35, 37).

Three other such "transferences" equally long and equally con-

¹ Vol. III, p. 405, 1909.

² 1905, 1906, 1909, Tenth Series, Vols. IV, V, and IX.

³ *Notes and Queries*. Vol. IV, p. 81.

spicuous, Hart has failed to notice, or, at any rate, has failed to mention. Although he has noted two passages parallel in *Planetomachia* and *Perimedes*, he completely passes over two other "transferences" in the same two romances. One of them (V., pp. 52, 53 and VII., pp. 66, 67) immediately precedes the first passage cited by Hart (V., p. 53), and is so near it as to cause surprise at such an oversight.

*Planetomachia*⁴ (1585)

Polliticke he was . . . hardly admitting any into familiaritie unlesse he might sell his courtesie for profite, and they buy his favour with repentance. But in private and secrete counsayles, hee used no friende but himselfe, fearing to finde that in others which he found rooted in his own canckred stomacke: So skilfull to shadow his spightfull practises with glosing coulours, as resembling the Pyrit stone he burnt sorest when he was thought most colde. To trust anie he thought was to despise securitie, and to desire mishappe, and therefore knowne more for his authority then by his manners. He carried his thoughts sealed up with silence, pained with that which he most liked: namely fearefull distrust. . . For this Valdracko although despighted by the gods and nature, for placing such odious qualities in such an olde carcassee, yet was hee favoured by Fortune in possessing large and sumptuous revenues, and not only advanced with the title of honour and dignities: but also, wherein hee most joyed, he had one onelie childe called Pasylla, a Ladie so furnished with outward shape of the body, and inward qualities of the minde, so decked with the giftes of Nature, and adorned with sundrie exquisite vertues, as Ferrara did not so much despise hir Father for his

⁴ V., pp. 172, 173.

*Perimedes*⁵ (1588)

. . . he admitted none into familiarite, unless he might sell his courtesie for profit, and they buie his favor with repentance. But in private and secrete counsailes, he used no freend but himselfe, fearing to find that in others, which he found wanted in his owne cankered stomacke, so skilfull to shadowe his spightfull practises with glosing coulours, as resembling the Pyrite stone, he burned sorest when he was thought most colde: to trust anye he thought was to despise securitie, and to desire mishap, and therefore knowne more for his authoritie then by his manners, he carryed his thoughts sealed up with silence, pained with that which he most liked, namelye Fearefull mistrust. This Gradasso although despighted by the gods and nature, for placing such odious qualities in such an old carcassee, yet was he favoured by Fortune in possessing large and sumptuous revenues, and not only advanced with the tytle of honor and dignities, but also wherein hee most joyed he had one onely Childe called Melissa: a Ladye so furnished with outward shape of body, and inward qualities of the minde, so decked with the gifts of nature and adorned with sundry exquisite vertues, as Aegypt did not so much despise hir Father for his vitious disposition, as they did

⁵ V., pp. 125, 126.

vicious disposition, as they did extoll her fame for her vertuous sinceritie. For shee (although to her great grieve) seeing into her Fathers lawlesse actions, howe with pretensed flattery, like to the Hiena, he had snared some to their utter mishappe, and that under colour of law with exacted extortion, he had oppressed the poore, sought not only as farre as she durst, to pull her Father from such inordinate gaines, but also secretly made recompence to such as her father unjustly had almost brought to ruine.

extoll her fame for hir vertuous sincerity: for she although to hir great greefe, seeing into her Fathers lawlesse actions, how with pretensed flatterye like to the Hiena he had snared some to their utter mishap, and that under colour of lawe, with exacted extortion he had oppressed the poore, sought not onely as farre as she durst to pull her Father from such inordinate gaines, but also secretly made recompence to such as hir Father unjustly had almost brought to ruine.

The passages of the second "transference" overlooked by Hart in these two romances are found in V., pp. 62, 63 and VII., pp. 72, 73.

Planetomachia

Thou knowest Love is to bee feared of menne, because honoured of the Gods. Jupiter could not resist fancie, nor Apollo withstand affection: they Gods, and yet in love, thou a man, and appointed to love. It is an impression Rodento, not to bee suppressed by wisdom, because it is not to bee comprehended by reason: without lawe, and therefore above all law: strive not then against the streame, feede not with the Deere against the wind, seeke not to appease Venus with slanders, but with sacrifice. Pasilla is beautiful & vertuous, to be wonne with intreatie, if thou feare not to attempt. What though Valdracko frowne, may not she favour? he stifled by Saturne, and therefore must hate: she stirred by Venus, and therefore will love. If Pasilla like, pass not if he lowre: yea let both your Parentes mislike, so you two rest in contented quiet.

Rodento had no sooner uttered these words, but he felte his mynde halfe eased with flattering him selfe thus

Perimedes

Thou knowest love is to be feared of men, because honoured of the Gods: Jupiter could not resist fancye, nor Apollo withstand affection, they Gods and yet in love, thou a man and appointed to love. It is an impression Bradamant not to be suppressed by wisdom, because not to be comprehended by reason: without law, and therefore must needs be above all lawe: strive not then against the streame, feed not with the Deare against the wind, seeke not to appease Venus with slanders, but with sacrifice, Melissa is beautiful and vertuous, to be wonne with intreatie, if thou feare not to attempt: what though Gradasso frowne, may not she favour: he stifled with covetise, and therefore must hate: she stirred by Venus, and therefore must love: If Melissa like, passe not, if he lowre, yea let both your parents mislike, so you two rest in contented quiet.

Bradamant had no sooner uttered these words, but he felt his minde

in his follies, so that from doubting
if hee mighte love, hee fell to devising
how to obtayne his love.

halfe eased with flattering him selfe
thus in his follies, so that from
doubting if he might love, he fell
to devising how to obtaine his love.

Again, a "transference" of fair length is made from *Planetomachia* to *Penelope's Web*. As Hart says of another parallelism, "It is hardly necessary to point out that the tales are the same in outline, otherwise so many portions would not mortise harmoniously with either composition."

Planetomachia^s (1585)

It is no marvaile if you stand amazed
(Right mightie Princes of Egipte) to
see your King, who was woont to
crave your consent in small affayres,
without your counsell nowe to begin
a thing of such greate importance, I
meane a Parleamente: But hee that
seeketh to have his purpose unpre-
vented, must not plume his actions
with times feathers, leaste either for-
tune or counsaile hinder his enter-
prise. Many things fall out betweene
the cuppe and the lippe and daunger
is alwaies a companion to delay. To
take away therefore all occasions of
hindrance, I have upon the sodayne
assembled you, not onely to hear what
I can saye: but without either doubt
or denial, to confirme what I shall
say: death having deprived me of her
. . . in my latter yeares who was
your good Queene Farina. And al-
though I am olde yet not so stricken
in age but that I must and can
yeeld to affection: so that I intend,
nay I wil in dispight of all menne,
take Rhodope heere present to my
wife, and before wee depart from this
session, shee shall be crowned Queene.
It may be, nay I am assured you al
will greatly mislike of the match, and
grudge that your King should marry
with a Curtisan. But I charge you

^s V., pp. 125, 126.

Penelope's Web^t (1587)

It is no marvaile if you stand amazed
(right mightie Princes of Aegipt) to
see your King who was wont to crave
your consent in small affayres: with-
out your counsell now to begin a thing
of such importance, I meane a Parlia-
ment: But he that seeketh to have
his purpose unprevented must be se-
cret and speedie, least either fortune
or counsaile hinder his enterprise.
Many things falles out betweene the
cup and the lip, and daunger is al-
waies a companion to delay. To take
away therefore all occasions of hin-
derance, I have upon the sodaine as-
sembled you, not onely to heare what
I can can, but without either doubt or
denyall to confirme what I will say.
Being divorced from my quondam
wife, and your Queene by law, al-
though I am olde, yet not so stricken
in age but that I can and must yeelde
to affection: I intend, nay I will in
dispight of all men, take Olynda
heere present to my wife, and before
we depart from this Session, shee shall
be crowned Queene. Conjecture doth
assure me you will all greatly mislike
of the match, and grudge that your
King should marrie so low. But I
charge you all in generall, and wish
everie one that loveth his onne life,
neither with counsaile nor reason to

^t V., pp. 172, 173.

all in generall, and I wish each one that loveth his owne life, neither with counsaile nor reason to persuade mee from that I have purposed, least he incurre further daunger, and my perpetuall displeasure.

perswade me from that I have purposed: least he incurre further daunger, and my perpetuall displeasure.

A few lines further on, this repetition is closely followed by another, the speech of the king's son, protesting against his father's marriage to the courtesan.

Planetomachia

May it please your highnesse, I feare to offend, if I say what I should, & yet were loath to flatter, in saying that I woulde not: but sith I may have free libertie to speak what I think, my verdict shalbe soone given. I confesse that what pleaseth the father ought to content the sonne, and therefore I count Psamnetichus will a law to Philarkes: yet as obedience wisheth a consent, so nature willeth with a friendly denyall to diswade from things that offende, not onely men, but are even hateful to the gods. I say therefore, that Psamnetichus should get more honour by exiling such an infamous strumpet, not onely from Memphis, but out of al the confines of Egypt, then if he had obtained more triumphes then that invincible Caesar. No doubt your grace shall soone, nay I feare too soone, finde my words to be true, that in hoping to get a sweete content, you shal gaine a sowre disquiet: like to them which pleased with the couler of the tree Lotos are poysoned assoone as they tast of the Apples.

Penelope's Web

May it please your Highnesse (I feare to offend) if I say that I should, and yet were loth to flatter in saying what I would not: but if I may have free libertie to speake what I think, my verdict shall be soone given. I confesse that what pleaseth the father ought to content the sonne: and therefore I count the will of Saladyne a lawe to Garinter: yet as obedience wisheth a consent, so Nature willeth with a friendly denyall to diswade from things that offende not onely men, but that are even hateful to the Gods. I say therefore that Saladyne should get more honour by exyling Olynda, not only from Babylon, but out of all the confines of Aegypt, then if he had obtayned more triumphes then that invincible Caesar. No doubt your Grace shall soone, nay I feare too soone, find my words to be true, that in hoping to get a sweete content you gayne a sower mislike: like to them which pleased with the colour of the tree Lotos, are poysoned as soone as they taste of the Apples.

The last repetition is from *Penelope's Web* (V. 5, p. 197) to *Menaphon* (V. 6, p. 77), and has more minor changes of phrase than any other "transference." The parallelism is, however, readily seen.

Penelope's Web^s (1587)

Well sayd Eubula (quoth Penelope) you run descant upon this word Virginitie, as though you deserved to be a Vestall or a Sibill. Yet it may be Madame (quoth Ismena) that were she a Vestall (I had almost said a Virgin, but God forbid I had made such a doubtfull supposition) she might misse in carying water with Amulia in a Sive: for amongst all the rest of the Virgins, wee reade of none but her that wrought such a myracle. Eubula hearing how pleasantly Ismena played with her nose, thought to give her as great a bone to gnawe on, which she cast in her teeth thus briefly. I remember Ismena, that Epicurus measured every mans dyet by his owne principles, and Abradas the great Macedonian Pirat thought every one had a letter of mart that bore sayles in the Ocean: none came to knock at Diogenes Tub but he thought a Cynicke: and fancie a late bath so tyed you in devotion to Venus, that shortly we shall have you in that vayne, to think there is no such Goddesse as Vesta.

^s V., p. 197.

Menaphon^s (1588)

Now quoth Menaphon that you have got a virgin in your mouth you will never leave chaunting that word till you prove your selfe either a Vestall or a Sybill. Suppose she were a Vestall, quoth Melicertus, I had almost said a virgine (but God forbidde I had made such a doubtfull supposition) she might carrie water with Amulia in a sive: for among all the rest of the virgins we read of none but her that wrought such a miracle. Pesana hearing how pleasantly Melicertus plaid with her nose, thought to give him as great a bone to gnawe uppon, which she caste in his teeth thus brieflie. I remember sir that Epicurus measured everie mans diet by his owne principles; Abradas the great Macedonian Pirate thought everie one had a letter of Marte, that bore sayles in the Ocean; none came to knock at Diogenes tub but was supposed a Cinicke; and fancie a late hath so tied you to his vanities, that you will think Vesta a flat figured conceit of Poetrie.

^s VI., p. 77.

These parallel passages confirm the impression that Greene's habit of borrowing, or self-repetition, was not so much a matter of carelessness as one of deliberate intent, and that in transferring long passages from one romance to another, he took care in nearly every instance slightly to mask his deception by changing names and localities. In the case of the passages occurring in both *Planetomachia* and *Penelope's Web*, however, he retained Egypt as the setting, although in the latter romance the story has to do with the court of Babylon, and a change seems imperative. Whether the vagueness of Greene's geographical knowledge was responsible for his locating Babylon in "Aegipt," or whether, in the process of copying, he failed, with characteristic carelessness to change the

name of the country, is a matter for conjecture. It is even possible that the change in the spelling of *Egypt* was not due to carelessness incidental to the "transference," but was done deliberately, to deceive the reader. It will be noted that the works in which the most extensive "borrowings" appear — *Penelope's Web* and *Perimedes* — were published in 1587 and 1588, respectively, two years in which Green produced, in all, seven works, and was therefore, one may conclude, hurried in his writing. The "transferred" passages in both romances are taken from his earliest work, *Planetomachia* — a circumstance that might point to the deliberateness of Greene's repetitions, since *Planetomachia*, published as early as 1585, was probably not in circulation at the time that the later romances were written.

It appears, then, that Greene was more culpable than either Hart or Atkins pronounced him. Not only did he "indulge alarmingly in repetition" even more frequently than Hart discovered: he did so deliberately, with an eye, undoubtedly, to filling his purse. Not only did he "resort in his haste" to repeating himself: he changed his "borrowings" sufficiently to deceive a careless public.

A NOTE ON THE EGOIST: OR, COLLEY UPON CIBBER

By DEWITT C. CROISSANT
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“The author of *The Egoist: or, Colley upon Cibber*,” referred to in the article on *Fielding and the Cibbers* in the October Quarterly, is without doubt Colley Cibber himself. His authorship has been questioned generally, but for what reason is not clear, for the contents of the pamphlet, both in style and material, bear every sign of being by him. “The Preface: Not quite Unnecessary,” written in Cibber’s characteristic vein, is signed “Your Humble Servant, The Author, C. Cibber,” and the Postscript, addressed “To those unfortunate Readers and Writers who may have more Sense than the Author,” is signed “Your impenetrable humble Servant, C. Cibber.”

The pamphlet, moreover, is “Printed: and Sold by W. Lewis in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden” (1743), who also published both Cibber’s *Letters to Pope*, the one dated July 7 the year before, the other dated January 9 the year after *The Egoist*. Lewis also published Cibber’s *The Character and Conduct of Cicero* (1747). Externally, then, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the ascription of authorship to Cibber is authentic.

Another bit of evidence is found on page 66 of the pamphlet and in Mrs. Laetitia Pilkington’s *Memoirs* (Dublin, 1748), volume II, page 16. Mrs. Pilkington says that Cibber was so pleased with a poem she had written about him that he incorporated it in a work he was writing at the time. The poem printed on page 66 of *The Egoist* is the one she gives in her *Memoirs*.

On page 27 of *The Egoist* Cibber writes as follows:

Don’t you remember, at the little Theatre in the *Hay-Market*, upon the first Day of acting some new Piece there? when a personal Jest upon me flew souce in my Face, while I sat in the Eye of a full Audience, was not I as suddenly loud in my Laugh and Applause, as any common Spectator? Now as I could have no Warning of the Shot, was not my manner of receiving it a plain Proof that I was more pleased with the Conceit, than hurt with the Intention of it?

If this passage refers to one of Fielding's plays, as is most likely, it would seem that Cibber recognized the right of Fielding and the town to attack his public character as an actor and author. That he could and did resent attacks on his personal character is shown by his replies to Pope, in which he demonstrated no mean ability as a controversialist.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of Magic and Experimental Science, by Linn Thorndike. 2 vols., 1766, pp. . The Macmillan Co., New York, 1921.

In those two massive volumes the author treats "the history of magic and experimental science and their relations to Christian thought during the first thirteen centuries, with especial emphasis upon the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. . . Magic is here understood in the broadest sense of the word as including all occult arts and sciences, superstitions and folklore." He says further, "the word magic was in classic and mediaeval times applied not merely to an operative art but also to a mass of ideas and doctrine and represented a way of looking at the world." There is but little further definition or discussion, which is regrettable, especially for the early period considered.

Professor Thorndike does not touch upon the field of primitive magic and the problems of Frazer's *Golden Bough*. He comes closer to H. O. Taylor's *Mediaeval Mind*, but he has a more exact knowledge of the authors of the middle ages because of an extraordinary acquaintance with manuscripts. For the classical and post-classical periods Professor Thorndike gives a summary of present opinion taken from his own study of the works themselves but following usually the authority of leading scholars. For the mediaeval age he speaks on his own authority, and his work is there firmer and much clearer. All the data to be found in laws, records, chronicles, accounts of persecutions, individual testimony scattered through unimportant writers, as well as the whole field of literature in the vernacular, are left untouched. The main reason for leaving the vernacular to one side is that it merely repeats Latin authors, but the same might be said of a large proportion of the Latin authors actually treated. Perhaps the main value, however, of the entire work, as pointed out by Dr. Chew, is found in the compact analyses of about seventy authors of importance.

This book goes possibly too far in avoiding the simple formulae or general laws, delighted in by older historians and anthropologists, which can only be carried through by suppressing troublesome facts or torturing them into conformity. It passes in array before the reader the beliefs of thirteen centuries without finding many threads to connect or explain, beyond the fact that old beliefs were often handed down practically unchanged for a thousand years and more. There is perhaps not enough philosophical inquiry into the reasons or feelings behind faith in magic or into the confusion between Christian faith and magical theory. Another pitfall of older writers, here avoided, is to make heroes of thought out of each great representative of an age. Professor Thorndike's plan of studying only Latin authorities makes it impossible for him to end the book with a figure like Dante instead of the obscure Cecco d'Ascoli. Dante sums up, as no one else did or could, the thought of the middle ages;

but he is mentioned only in passing, spoken of rather as the last great writer of a past age than as a prophet of the future.

Enough has been said to show that this book has too broad a title. The history of experimental science is wholly subordinated, and the history of magic is presented only in the learned thought and tradition of many centuries. Quite another thing would be the history of the actual attitude of the ages toward magic. During the middle ages learned men, using Latin in the schools and in their books, formed a closed corporation. The beliefs of Albertus Magnus, put into practice by a village sorcerer, brought him often to the stake. Mâle in his study of mediaeval art showed how the learned influence directed the ornamentation of cathedrals. Similarly the mediaeval theater, both popular and learned in character, determined the costumes of later statuary, such as the figures of the choir of Albi. Bédier proved the collaboration of monks and poets in the chansons de geste. And there is interesting work to be done to show not merely what views were locked up in Latin works but the entire attitude of the middle ages.

For example, in the chansons de geste dreams are accepted as a regular channel of communication from God to man, as matters of religion not of magic. Enchanters, Christian incantations, strange medicines, supernatural gems and armor, strange beasts, peoples (not those of learned books), superstitions of various sorts, with fairies and supernatural creatures (though rarely demons in the learned sense), are present in these works. But these evidences of belief in magic play, when one considers the whole body of poems, are only a minor rôle. A large part of Professor Thorndike's book is devoted to astrology. I do not know a single clear case in the chansons de geste, although the Saracen magicians in a confused way seem sometimes to know future events from star gazing. The same might be said of alchemy. Many writers never even use the Christian supernatural. Adenet le Roy says specifically that he will not recount any supernatural nonsense, — and, what is more remarkable, keeps his promise. Just as the learned beliefs run in channels, so in this literature there are channels of thought different from those described by Professor Thorndike. The authors of the chansons de geste were inclined to realism and seem much less credulous than the learned authorities.

The detailed bibliographies and lists of manuscripts in the work will prove invaluable to scholars. In a work so extensive there are almost inevitably clumsy sentences, obscurities, slight confusions of thought and minor errors, although the press work and general revision have been done with much care. Beyond question, within the limits of his plan, which is much more restricted than his title, Professor Thorndike has accomplished a monumental task and deserves the gratitude of scholars in many fields.

STEPHEN H. BUSH

Weckherlin's Eclogues of the Seasons, by Elizabeth Friench Johnson, 68 pp. Johns Hopkins Dissertation. H. Laupp, Jr., Tübingen, 1922.

Weckherlin has special interest for American and English scholars through his long residence in England and through the fact that he may claim priority over Opitz in having introduced, possibly as a result of English influence, the Renaissance style into Germany. Possibly among all the

pioneers of the German Renaissance he was the one who had the clearest conception of what the Renaissance had meant for other countries, particularly for England. However, the friends of Opitz were not willing to admit this. Even Goedeke's opinion is not altogether favorable, for he says of Weckherlin, "In neueren Zeiten ist er sehr überschätzt." On the other hand, Herder, as quoted by Dr. Johnson, seems to have had a high opinion of his work and attributed much of his breadth of vision to his association with famous men in the various countries in which he traveled and resided. In 1644 in England he was appointed "secretary for foreign tongues" to the English Government, and was succeeded in this position in 1848 by no less a man than John Milton. Dr. Johnson disagrees with Andreen's claim that Weckherlin's eclogues show the influence of Opitz in form. However, it is not always an easy matter to prove or disprove a literary influence. In defense of her contention Dr. Johnson emphasizes the opinion that Weckherlin was not a follower of Opitz, but was utterly independent of the Silesian School, and based his eclogues upon observation of nature. In placing these eclogues next to the work of Theocritus in their appeal to lovers of nature, Dr. Johnson is a bit enthusiastic. She argues for the marked independence of Weckherlin's eclogues in general, an independence that could hardly be expected at a time when rococo was in vogue. She does, however, admit a possible influence by Remi Belleau whose descriptions seem to parallel those of Weckherlin's eclogues, while some of his shorter poems suggest Ronsard. Dr. Johnson says facts do not justify Bohm in attributing the eclogues to English influence and states that the resemblance to Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* is superficial and slight. The brief chapter on a comparison with Thomson's *Seasons* points out that Weckherlin's work seems more direct and human but does not possess so much richness of detail.

There seems to be some conflict with reference to the date of the eclogues. On page 19 we find "While the date of these four eclogues can hardly be determined," but on pages 11 and 56 there is a definite statement that Weckherlin's six eclogues were published in 1648 and on page 11 that the first one had been published in 1641. On page 7 Andreen is quoted as placing them in 1648. Possibly time of production and time of publication are involved.

C. B. W.

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NOTES ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *CELESTINA*¹

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In the following pages are given some of the results obtained from a series of studies made on the text of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* with a view to testing the authorship of the additions of 1502. As the investigation proceeded it became evident that the first act offered also certain peculiarities of style not devoid of interest. This is not the place to discuss the well known testimony in regard to the authorship of the first act found in the letter of "el auctor a vn su amigo" that appeared for the first time in the edition of 1501. For the present it will suffice to see if enough differences exist to justify a reopening of the question of the authorship of the first act.

In seeking for individual characteristics of style, the points we have investigated have been those in which various forms of expression were current, giving preference to the phenomena that were found in greatest abundance. Some of the topics studied failed to give results from which any conclusion could be drawn. Other promising lines of research could not be followed out in the time we had at our disposal. Although the evidence presented in the following pages is but a small part of what can doubtless be found, it seems best to present it now in the hope that others may be able to offer enlightening criticism both on the methods pursued and on the results obtained.

¹ Credit for the study on word order is due to Miss Mulroney. Miss Probst has prepared the work on the pronoun. Mr. House studied the dialogue, put all of the material into its present form, and drew up the conclusions. For a general discussion of the problem of authorship of the *Celestina*, see *Philological Quarterly*, II (1923), pp. 38-47.

It is practically certain that acts II to XVI of the shorter or 1499 version of the *Celestina* are by one author and of the same period. Marked differences in style between this portion of the text and act I or the additions of 1502 might be due to accidental variation, to a difference of style appropriate to different subject matter, to a lapse of time in which the style of the same author had changed, to source matter that affected the style of the author who gave it final form, or to different authorship. Variation in subject matter should not affect results seriously in the case of the *Celestina*. The development of the plot goes on from act I to the following acts with no appreciable break. The additions repeat in part the scenes of the shorter version, and in part introduce new material, but they are so closely bound up with what precedes and what follows that wide variation of style due to a difference in subject matter is not probable.

In the reprint of the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (Burgos, 1499), published by Foulché-Delbosc, Bibliotheca Hispanica, 1902, act I covers 32 pages, and acts II to XVI, 141 pages. The main addition of 1502, beginning in act XIV and ending in act XIX of the text as divided into twenty-one acts, would occupy 34 pages of the same format, and the scattered additions, some eleven pages more. The scattered additions ranging in length from a single word to a page or more have been left out of account in the discussion of word order, on the assumption that their style might have been influenced by that of the passages in which they were inserted. In the study of dialogue they have likewise been disregarded for the obvious reason that they appear rarely as whole speeches. As a test against accidental variation of style, acts II to XVI of the 1499 text have been divided into three parts: II-VI, VII-X, and XI-XVI, covering 49, 47, and 45 pages respectively. In our tables act I is referred to as division I, acts II-XVI as divisions II, III, and IV, and the main addition as division V. If divisions II, III, and IV show reasonably uniform percentages for a given phenomenon, we assume that we have a norm to which material of a similar kind from the works of the same author should correspond. And conversely, if these divisions differ from one another, we have nothing on which a sound comparison can be made.

All references are to *La Celestina*, edited by J. Cejador y Frauca, Madrid, 1913, 2 Vols. However, for all pronouns and for the rarer

cases in word order, comparison has been made for the sixteen act version with the 1499 edition as republished by Foulché-Delbosc, and for the additions of 1502 with a photostatic copy of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, Sevilla, 1502 (British Museum, C 20, c 17). When readings differed, we have followed the editions last mentioned.

WORD ORDER IN THE *Celestina*

Perhaps no other phase of the style of the *Celestina* so repays careful study as that of word order. Spanish still permits wide liberty in the arrangement of the various parts of the sentence, and in the sixteenth century there was even greater fluctuation than to-day. Word order also offers a marked advantage for comparison in that it can be divided into definite categories and reduced to exact figures. A departure from the normal word order may arise from various causes, such as emphasis, the desire to keep together the more closely allied parts of the sentence, or rhetorical effect. In a given passage the treatment of the subject matter may be the governing factor, but when all the examples from an extensive portion of a work are brought together, we should have some line on the individual style of the author.

Only those parts of the sentence that are in close syntactical relation to each other have been taken into account. The cases classified here as inversions of the natural order are: (1) verb before its noun subject except in an interrogation; (2) verb before the pronoun subject with the same exception as above; (3) direct or indirect noun object before a finite verb; (4) predicate noun before the finite verb; (5) predicate adjectives, including past participles used predicatively with *ser* and *estar*, before a finite verb; (6) past participle before the auxiliary verb *haber*; (7) noun object before the infinitive; and (8) the complementary infinitive before the finite verb on which it depends. In the following table is given the percentage of inversion of each type, and in parentheses the number of cases in which the abnormal order is found. It will be noted that, as the number of examples becomes smaller, the variation of percentages in the test divisions II, III, and IV becomes greater. They have been given, however, for the sake of easy comparison except for the rarest phenomena, where only the number of examples will be found.

TABLE OF INVERSION

Types	Division I		Division II		Division III		Division IV		Division V	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
(1) verb—noun subject	36	(70)	46	(163)	46	(161)	45	(133)	48	(118)
(2) verb—pronoun subject	18	(11)	19	(23)	26	(37)	24	(29)	32	(32)
(3) noun object—finite verb	27	(67)	19	(78)	20	(79)	16	(68)	13	(35)
(4) predicate noun—verb	28	(18)	16	(18)	28	(29)	23	(21)	16	(11)
(5) predicate adj.—verb	36	(35)	23	(33)	20	(28)	22	(32)	12	(12)
(6) past part.—auxiliary <i>haber</i>	—	(5)	—	(4)	—	(4)	—	(5)	—	(1)
(7) noun object—infinitive	12	(8)	7	(12)	10	(10)	7	(7)	4	(4)
(8) comp. inf.—finite verb	—	(7)	—	(5)	—	(8)	—	(5)	—	(3)

For further comparison a study was made of selected passages from the first book of *Amadís de Gaula* (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 40), and from *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (Clásicos Castellanos, Vol. 25). The *Amadís*, although printed later, represents a somewhat more archaic style than the *Celestina*, and tends toward ornateness of expression. The *Lazarillo* is a little later in date and relatively simple in style.

Types 1 and 2. The frequency with which the verb precedes its noun or pronoun subject for the sake of emphasis or to keep together subject and its modifiers is so great that this inversion seems to have little stylistic effect. To this is evidently due the phenomenon that it may be less common in an ornate style than in a relatively simple one. In the table under types 3 to 8, act I shows the highest proportion of inversion, and the additions are lowest. For types 1 and 2 the case is just the opposite. Likewise the *Amadís* had only 33% of inversion of the noun subject in the passage examined, while the *Lazarillo* showed 46%. Since the number of examples found in every division is large, the percentages may be considered relatively free from chance variation. Divisions II, III, and IV are in close correspondence. Both the first act and the additions stand clearly apart from acts II-XVI.

Types 3-5. Although the cases of noun object, predicate noun, and predicate adjective before the finite verb are listed separately in collecting statistics, they produce much the same stylistic effect. Compare the following examples: *Prouerbio es antigo* (II, 46, 2), *Trabajo ternias, madre, con tantas moças* (II, 46, 16), *Saludable*

es al enfermo la alegre cara del que le visita (II, 56, 13). Although the number of examples collected is not large enough to exclude the possibility of considerable chance variation, it is interesting to note that both act I and the additions stand apart from acts II-XVI. Only under type 4 do even the extremes touch. Here division II is as low as division V, and III is as high as I, but the divisions II, III, and IV form an average of about 22%. The 16% of division V, based on only eleven examples, seems abnormally high in view of 12% and 13% for types 5 and 3. For the large group including types 3, 4, and 5 there is an average of about 30% of inversion for act I, slightly above 20% for acts II-XVI, and under 15% for the main addition of 1502. The *Amadís* has about 35% of inversion for these types, and the *Lazarillo* averages about 15%.

Type 6. Examples: Maldito seas, que fecho me has reyr (I, 45, 1); Oydo he, que deue hombre a sus mayores creer (I, 109, 16); Leydo has donde yo (II, 86, 1). Since this inversion has to do with two parts of the same compound verb, the reason for it is neither emphasis nor the desire to bring together closely allied parts of the sentence. The author may have wished to avoid the use of a colorless word like *haber* at the beginning of the clause, or he may have sought to give the expression an archaic or an unusual tone. In relative frequency the inverted form occurs on an average of once to a little over six pages of text in act I, once to about eleven pages in acts II-XVI, and but once in the 34 pages of the main addition. It is not found in the scattered additions. The lone example of the additions is, Ya, ya hecho ha conmigo para quanto biua (II, 178, 21). One is tempted to explain this as a popular expression, which the writer used here by chance. But granted that it is the invention of the author of the additions, its rarity reflects the usual tendency of this part of the work.

Type 7. Inversion is somewhat less frequent with the infinitive than with the finite tenses of the verb. Compare type 3, noun object—finite verb. Yet examples are found in all parts of the *Celestina*. As in the other cases of unusual inversion, the first act stands highest, and the additions lowest of all. In the *Amadís* nearly one-fourth of the noun objects precede the infinitive. The *Lazarillo* shows only about three per cent.

Type 8. In the whole of the *Celestina* the complementary infinitive is found before the verb on which it depends in twenty-eight

cases. For examples see the second speech of Calisto in the first act. As usual, act I leads the list in comparative frequency, and the additions stand lowest. Nine cases were found in the relatively short passage of the *Amadís* that was examined, while there were no examples listed for the *Lazarillo*.

With the small number of examples that were involved in some cases it is only by mere accident that the results have remained so distinct in every type for the various parts of the *Celestina*. Different parts of the *Lazarillo*, for example, showed much wider variation for the rarer phenomena than is shown in our table. Yet the cumulative evidence of all the types proves beyond the shadow of a doubt a difference of style between the first act and acts II-XVI, and between the additions and either part of the older version.

THE DIALOGUE

According to Menendez y Pelayo, the creation of a form of dialogue entirely new in modern literatures is one of the highest merits of the *Celestina* (Orígenes de la Novela, vol. 3, introduction, p. II). Believing as he did in the unity of authorship, the renowned critic evidently thought that the dialogue showed the same characteristics throughout. The form of the dialogue may vary to some extent with the subject matter, but it is reasonable to expect that certain differences should persist throughout the writings of one author, and that minor differences should appear if a second author undertook to extend the work, even though he attempted to follow his model closely. The most evident trait capable of objective comparison is the length of the speeches.

The following table is based on the measurement of full type lines as printed in the Cejador edition. The division of speeches for the sixteen act version has been made to conform with that of Foulche-Delbosc's reprint of the edition of 1499. Verses and indications of laughter, etc., printed as speeches have been omitted from the count. The divisions before mentioned have been kept. Percentages only are given under the various groups, but the total number of speeches in each division is found in the last column. The possibility of error due to differences in spacing, to possible variation between Roman and italic type, or to arbitrary assignment to one group or another of speeches that fall on the line of demarcation is too small to affect results materially.

Acts	Under 1 line	Over 1, under 2	Over 2, under 5	Over 5, under 10	Over 10, under 20	Over 20 lines	No. of speeches
I	47%	22	11	12	5	3	274
II-VI	19	16	33	16	11	5	299
VII-X	21	21	29	15	8	6	301
XI-XVI	22	21	31	14	9	3	265
Addition							
XIV-XIX	10	17	28	25	10	10	133

It will be noted that the divisions of acts II-XVI, which serve as a test against accidental variation, differ very little from one another in speech length. There is perhaps greater difference in subject matter between divisions II and IV than between I and II or between IV and V. Yet I and V differ widely from the other divisions. The first act is especially noteworthy for the preponderance of short speeches, nearly one-half of which are under one line in length. Such passages as I, 43-45, and I, 60-64 illustrate the tendency toward rapid dialogue. The short speech is so frequent that it must be considered one of the characteristics of the author's art. Beginning with the second act the dialogue begins to slow down somewhat. Isolated short speeches rather than extended series are found. One series that resembles most those of the first act is found in Vol. II, p. 66. An example of effective brevity has already been noted by Cejador (II, 204 *note*). Although less frequent than in act I, the short speech has a real place in the dialogue of acts II-XVI. In the additions the proportion of speeches of less than a line in length is 10%, but an examination of the cases shows that they are nearly always used to mark entrances or exits. Examples are: ¿Quien es, hermano? (II, 140), ¿Que hazes ay escondida, loca? (II, 158), Ya voy, señora (II, 163), ¿Quien es?—Abre, amiga; Elicia soy (II, 168). In act XVIII the dialogue approaches but for a moment that of the better portions of the earlier text. Nearly one-half of the speeches are of over five lines in length, and ten percent are of over twenty lines.

SOME PECULIARITIES IN THE USE OF PRONOUNS

A study of the pronoun in the *Celestina* has revealed some rather interesting material that bears on the question of authorship. In the compilation of the material the usual divisions were made in acts II to XVI, but it seems needless to maintain them in the brief presentation of the subject made here. It seems little likely that the syntax of the scattered additions would be seriously contaminat-

ed by that of the passages in which they were inserted. Therefore examples found in them have been joined to those of the main addition. The divisions made here are: act I, 32 pages; acts II-XVI of the 1499 edition, 141 pages; and additions, 45 pages.

DISJUNCTIVE AND CONJUNCTIVE PRONOUN OBJECTS

An interesting point of difference between the various parts of the *Celestina* is found in the relative frequency of use of the disjunctive personal pronoun object alone as against the combined conjunctive and disjunctive object. For examples see I, 63: no basta a ti vna ni otra . . . dexa a mi para siempre . . . ni la quiero veer a ella ni a muger nascida. The last of these examples is the only one in which the disjunctive and the conjunctive pronouns are used together in the first act. In acts II-XVI both constructions are found with about equal frequency. In the additions the combined use is favored in proportion of about three to one, as will be seen in the following table.

Number of examples found in	Act I	Acts II-XVI	Additions
Disjunctive used alone	8	27	5
Conjunctive with disjunctive	1	29	14

LE AND LO

From the following table a general idea may be obtained regarding the use of *le* and *lo* as masculine singular accusative in the *Celestina*. Two cases in which the construction was uncertain have been left out of account.

Referring to persons	Act I	Acts II-XVI	Additions
le	17	75	32
lo	1	1	10
Referring to things			
le	6	31	5
lo	1	22	11

It is not likely that the hand of an editor or of a careless typesetter has affected these results seriously, although an occasional example might be due to one of these sources. In referring to persons, there seems to be no difference between act I and acts II-XVI, but in the additions *lo* appears with sufficient frequency to attract attention. *Lo* appears as against *le* referring to things in proportion of one to six in the first act, at the ratio of two to three in acts II-XVI, and of more than two to one in the additions. The num-

ber of examples found, especially in act I and in the additions, is so small that it cannot be said that the table represents with any exactness the usage of the author or authors of the several parts of the text. Yet it indicates a strong tendency toward the use of *le* both for persons and things in the first act. A difference between act I and acts II-XVI is shown only in the existence of but one case of *lo* referring to things in the first act, where we might expect four, if the same proportions were maintained. The evidence is too fragile to admit of sound conclusions. In the additions, however, *lo* has gained decidedly in popularity. It is used one-fourth of the time for persons and two-thirds for things. Such a difference can scarcely be due to accident.

POSITION OF PRONOUN OBJECT WITH INFINITIVE

There are two phases of this question to be considered. In prepositional phrases the conjunctive personal pronoun object might either precede or follow the infinitive. The following table shows the number of times each construction occurs in the several divisions of the text.

	Act I	Acts II-XVI	Additions
Pronoun inserted between preposition and infinitive	5	45	12
Pronoun following infinitive	10	73	36

In the future indicative a state of complete fusion between the infinitive and the present indicative forms of *haber* had not yet been reached. With an object pronoun the future appears both as *dezarle he* (I, 37, 12), and as *lo hara* (I, 64, 13).

	Act I	Acts II-XVI	Additions
Split future	9	34	7
Modern form	17	83	35

Both tables show a similar proportion between the old and the modern form throughout the 1499 version, that is about one to two in favor of the latter. The additions incline toward the modern construction, in a ratio of one to three in the prepositional phrase, and of one to five in the future.

THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

The short form used before the noun is the usual possessive of all parts of the *Celestina*. It is found likewise with a limiting word, as *este mi amo*. Occasionally the article precedes the noun and the

longer form of the possessive follows, as *el padre tuyo*. The meaning is the same as that of the short form before the noun. The more archaic of these forms occur in greater abundance in both divisions of the 1499 version than in the additions.

	Act I	Acts II-XVI	Additions
Lim. adj.—possessive adjective—noun	5	31	2
Article—noun—possessive adjective	9	16	1

ARCHAISMS

A few isolated forms may be mentioned as illustrative of the archaic tendency to which attention has already been called.

Gelo, gela occurs three times in the first act (I, 58, 9; I, 66, 2; I, 100, 4), and in no other place. The *se lo* type is found but once in the first act, but is common elsewhere. An unusual form, *quitarleslas* (II, 100, 13) is found once only in acts II-XVI.

Entrambos is found once in acts II-XVI, and seven times in the additions. Against this, acts I-XVI have *entramos* eight times, *amos* once, and *ambos* twice. None of these forms occurs in the first act.

De nos is found but once and in the first act.

CONCLUSIONS

In presenting the material exposed in the preceding pages we have included whatever seemed to have some bearing on the question of authorship. Nothing has been excluded in order to make a case for a preconceived theory. In handling so many examples, we have probably missed or classified wrongly an occasional one, but recheckings, both by the compilers and by obliging fellow-workers indicate that the figures are practically correct.

The most interesting result obtained bears on the relation of the additions of 1502 to the other portions of the text. In all of the eight types of word order studied, the additions stand apart both from act I and from acts II-XVI. The avoidance of unusual inversion is the striking characteristic of the additions. It would of course be possible to explain this change as the development of the same author from the florid style of youth to a relatively simple diction in later life. The form of dialogue in the additions is likewise distinct from that of both parts of the earlier version, and it does not seem to reflect a maturer art of the same author. The pro-

nouns, the only syntactical group that was studied, have yielded other striking points of difference. The 1499 version shows a larger proportion of obsolescent forms. This may indicate either an earlier date of composition or the intentional use of archaisms. The greater preference for *lo* as a masculine singular pronoun in the accusative case is more favorable to the theory of different authorship than to any other hypothesis.

It is far from the intention of the writer of these observations to render a final decision on a question that has been so ably discussed by others. The facts presented tell their own story more clearly than he can tell it. However, until something more convincing is offered on the other side of the question, he takes side with those who believe that Alonso de Proaza was the author of the additions of 1502.

The differences between the first act and the remainder of the 1499 version that have come to light unexpectedly offer a new field for study. How does it happen that act I stands apart from acts II-XVI in the eight types of word order studied? Why does the dialogue show such a preponderance of short speeches over all the rest of the work? How can we explain the almost universal use of the disjunctive object pronoun without the accompanying conjunctive? Why is *gelo* used in the first act alone? The differences between act I and acts II-XVI are not so constant as between either part of the older version and the additions, for the syntax is not generally at variance, and the difference noted in the dialogue is perhaps one of degree rather than of kind. It does not seem likely that Rojas found the first act, as is testified, in the form in which he has passed it on to us, but the prefatory letter "*el auctor a vn su amigo*" may have more truth in it than has commonly been supposed. It is not impossible that he found and worked over an old story, leaving in his version some of its archaisms, or he may have been clever enough to use consistently throughout the first act a number of archaisms in order to give an appearance of truth to his story. Whatever be the explanation, differences exist, the reason for which deserves careful investigation. We hope to have something more definite to say on this problem later.

SILIUS THE REACTIONARY

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Hardly a good word has been spoken these many years past for the epic poem of Silius Italicus. Lucan has his ardent admirers, Statius and Valerius Flaccus their defenders, but the Punic War has brought down upon the head of its author an almost unbroken paean of obloquy. It is too long. It is dull. The choice of subject is only less unfortunate than the method by which the subject is handled. There are too many gods in the poem and too few real men. The rhythm is monotonous, the action confused, the ideas either second hand or second rate. The only achievement that the critics find worth commending is their own achievement in reading the poem. By what seems almost like concerted action, that select society of those who have read the seventeen books of the Punic War unite in magnifying their own perseverance by exaggerating the dullness of the poem.

The taste of modern times is all against the long epic. Even the long novel can hardly be called popular, especially if it be an historical novel. The taste of the Flavian Era was also against long productions. An epic might be extended to thousands of lines but it must be extravagantly episodic, with purple patches well nigh overlapping, so that it could be read in selections to an admiring circle without the danger of that circle's nodding and failing in its duty of politic applause. To this demand Silius failed to make concession: instead, he ploughed doggedly along with episodes of Homeric stature rather than Callimachean, with well bred contempt for an audience whose appetite was jaded with a surfeit of nervous epigram.

Now the literary historian is wont to criticise adversely the eager striving after point that characterises Neronian and Silver Latin. He contrasts it with the calmer and more assured style of the Golden Age, and, of course, his criticism is sound. And yet this same literary historian, before he has finished with Seneca and Lucan, with Statius and Valerius Flaccus, not infrequently loses

the fine edge of his own taste. Then he begins himself to look for the very qualities that he has condemned and, failing to find them in Silius, is surprised into instant condemnation of an author who falls short of the demands of his day. Lucan met those demands. His epic lent itself to recitation with its luxuriant growth of epigrammatic sentences, its brilliant characterizations, its formal oratory, and its heavy burden of detail. Statius too, with his strained rhetoric and his sentimentality, his show of learning and his utter inability to conceive of an epic plan, satisfied the standards of his generation. Silius, with all his faults, reverted to a finer epic tradition which knew less of the artificial rhetoric of the first century.

There is a noteworthy difference and also a noteworthy resemblance between the openings of Lucan's poem and that of Silius. While Homer had immortalized his two heroes in his two masterpieces and Vergil had sung of arms and *the man*, Lucan and Silius announce their subject to be arms alone. Neither of them has a hero around whom the story can grow. But their subjects are not alike. Lucan has a cause at heart and into his very opening lines the abstract motives enter eagerly.

Wars more than civil wars I celebrate
Fought o'er Emathian plains, crime justified,
A mighty people with victorious hand
Turned on itself, lines of embattled kin,
And with the severing of the tyrant's bond
A conflict of the universe itself
Foredoomed to guilt.

Silius is more objective. He does lack a hero, for the only hero that fought through the Carthaginian war was unfortunately on the wrong side and the poet must therefore sing of arms and the *men*. But he has no political axe to grind, no pet philosophy to expound, and his statement of theme leads us, and rightly, to expect a concrete narrative.

I sing of arms by which Aeneas' race
Won heaven-high glory and proud Carthage bowed
Before the laws of Rome. Grant, muse, the power
To tell the toils of ancient Italy,
The heroes that she bore to wage her wars
When, false to its own word, the Cadmean race
Sought to subdue her.

In accordance with the promise of this opening, Silius proceeds without any bid for imperial favor to state directly and concretely the origins of hostility between Carthage and Rome, concentrating in the sharply etched personality of Hannibal. Lucan, also true to the intimations of his introductory lines, gives us (after his rhetorical eulogy of Nero) a brilliant analysis of the abstract economic causes of the civil war, interrupted by the superb impressionistic pictures of Pompey and Caesar. But enough of comparison for the present.

Silius had already been consul before he wrote poetry. Martial bears testimony to his success at the bar and hails him as the worthy guardian not only of the tomb of Vergil but also of the farm of Cicero. Like Sallust and like Tacitus, he came to his literary labors after an active life, in the fullness of his maturity. Unlike Sallust he had led a life of quiet respectability and he had never experienced the tortures of party persecution that gave to Tacitus the concentrated bitterness of the frustrated fanatic. He wrote calmly and we have every right to expect from him, not the fire either of youth or of partisanship, but rather the sanity and judgment of maturity.

Curiously enough the silence of antiquity has been cited now and again as an indication that Silius was little thought of by his contemporaries and by the generations that followed him. We are apt to forget how little there is of contemporary mention in the case of Roman literature of the Empire. Juvenal is mentioned six times by what may, by somewhat of a stretch, be called the ancient period, three of these references being in Martial. Martial himself is the subject of a letter by Pliny and is mentioned a few times by comparatively unknown writers. Statius is mentioned by Juvenal alone of the ancients to be revived in the middle ages only because of the curious tradition that he was a Christian. Lucan's theatrical quarrel with Nero and even more theatrical death brought him some little notoriety, but Martial and Statius who chiefly do him honor seem to have been fully as much interested in his widow, the lady Polla, as in the poet himself. Valerius Flaccus chose an opportune time to die and so to receive passing notice in the literary catalogue of Quintilian.

To compare him with these other poets of his own country, Silius is mentioned by Pliny in a letter to Caninius Rufus. That Pliny

believed his work to show more pains than genius is interesting but far from conclusive. The fact remains that the patron of Como devotes half a letter to the poet of the Hannibalic War, a letter which is among the most carefully written of all the epistolary creations of the pedantic old barrister, a miniature essay on the brevity of life. And the poet Martial sends to Silius a book of poems at the Saturnalia with the most flattering phrases. In six other instances Martial either writes to Silius or mentions him. The tone is always eulogistic but I should find it hard to accept without question the general conclusion that it is obsequious with mercenary intent. There is a friendly tone about the poem which went with the Saturnalia present. It is not unlike the poem to Pliny but unless I am much mistaken it lacks the concealed barb that lurked in that offering.

Silius, glory of the sisters nine,
Who dost in mighty tones conquer again
The perjuries of Carthage, all the wiles
Of Hannibal, and force his fickle folk
To yield before the Scipionic might,
One moment put aside thy sterner stuff
Now when the wanton month of Saturn rings
With merry gaming; mid the rattling dice
Bestow thy leisure on my lighter muse.
Nor read with scowling brow but smile a bit
At these bold tablets dripping wantonness.
So once I ween Catullus might have dared
Commit his sparrow to great Maro's hand.

Silius was not mentioned after Martial's day except (in excellent company) by Sidonius Apollinaris, until at last he was found in manuscript by Poggio, probably at Constance, along with Valerius Flaccus. He was at once well received. Fifty-three editions appeared before 1800. In 1791 C. T. Ernesti published his edition and exerted all his powers to prove the worthlessness of his chosen author. There was much that he could fairly say, and he went beyond the bounds of fairness. Ruperti sprang to the defence of Silius in 1795, but Ernesti had won an audience and the poet has never since recovered the position which he had formerly held. Perhaps Ruperti's unfortunate claim that Silius was an author profitable for the moral instruction of the young really gave the poet his *coup de grace*.

And yet Martial was probably a better critic than Pliny or even

than C. T. Ernesti. To say that Silius is the author of "the longest and worst of surviving Roman epics" does not close the case. Whoever stops at the end of Book II can hardly prefer Statius or Valerius Flaccus to Silius, and even at the close of the seventeenth the author still strangely holds the respect of the weary reader, for he is weary from physical effort only without the additional strain of violent nausea which Lucan often induces to counteract the thrills that come from his purple patches. The reason must be possible to discover.

First of all, Silius' poem is to rather a remarkable degree, I think, a protest against the epic tendency of his day. Juvenal complains of the elaborate exposition of empty mythological tales and Petronius, more than a generation before, had attacked the popular education which fostered inane embellishment at the expense of what was really poetic. Seneca, in his farce on the death of Claudius illustrates the verbosity of the average epic. Petronius connects the tendency with Asianism as the foe of Atticism. That rivalry had really come to an end for all practical purposes when Cicero had established the norm for Latin style, a norm that was far removed from the Attic restraint of Caesar. And Sallust, protesting against the Ciceronian norm and striving to return to the brevity of Cato, had supplied prose style with new adornments to attract attention and to avoid unbecoming baldness. It is somewhat after the same fashion that Silius, while protesting against the practise of his day and reverting to a much earlier style, clings fast to many a modernism. And in this he is closer still to Petronius who urges and exemplifies restraint but at the same time exhibits most of the defects of the school which he criticizes.

Silius dealt with a subject that had been fully treated by Ennius and which might conceivably be looked upon as a continuation of Vergil's Aeneid. There are in the Punic War numerous echoes of Ennius and many of Vergil. In rhythm too Silius has much in common with the earlier poets, making free use of elision and, in the employment of spondees, falling between Ennius and Lucretius, far removed from the Ovidian disciples. But, what is far more important, there is, in the larger aspects of the poem, the spirit of the earlier epic poets.

To begin with, Silius is, as has already been suggested, much more objective in his treatment of the Punic War than, for example, Lucan in his of the campaign of Pharsalus. The earlier epic

tradition left characters and events to speak for themselves. Homer addresses his muse and then disappears behind the scenes. So does Vergil. So presumably did Ennius. Lucan is always the showman, constantly on the stage, nervously commenting on the action, "thrusting himself forward to tell us what it all means," and this in spite of the fact that he speaks in the first person only in the first hundred lines. Silius in addition to the twenty lines of introduction, speaks six times in the first person but never at length; elsewhere he does not devise methods of disguising personal comment and in general he is much more Homeric in his conception of an epic as presenting a story rather than the personal feelings of the narrator. In brief, there is comparatively little moralizing in Silius.

The epic is a long one, midway in length between the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*. It covers the eighteen years of the second Punic war, and the seventeen books in which this is done (Ennius' *Annals* had eighteen) are none too many for dealing with the great war. Here is a large, dignified, and important subject. It is amply rich in striking incident. There were however two great obstacles which stood in the way of its being a successful epic subject: it did not center around any single dramatic achievement and, on the winning side, there was no outstanding hero. Aeneas *did* found Rome however unheroic his role at times and Achilles even while sulking in his tent satisfies our conception of the romantic protagonist of an epic poem. Hannibal nearly forces his way into the position of hero but is foreordained to lose, and the Spirit of Rome that conquers him can never assume the personality of a real character. (Be it noted in fairness that the *Pharsalia* and the *Thebais* are equally ill equipped with a hero.) Furthermore, the succession of historical events alone can hardly create the dramatic tension necessary to carry an epic poem through seventeen books.

There is however a point to be noted carefully in this connection. A resemblance between Silius and the older poets has been suggested above and now it will develop, I think, that the real resemblance is to Ennius rather than to Vergil. It does not lie simply in such reminiscences as *ac tuba terrificis fugit stridoribus auras*, or in such alliterations as *Incumbunt pressoque impellunt pectore pectus*. Nor is it chiefly to be found in the simplicity and matter-of-factness of innumerable characterizations of persons and situations nor in the plain directness of statement. These are all note-

worthy again and again. For example, after Pedianus has struck down Cinyps to recover the arms of Paulus:

Even Pedianus as he seized the helm
And saw that countenance before him bared,
Stood there astonished and restrained his wrath.
And so to Nola's walls the Latian bands
Bearing their spoils with mighty shouts repair.

These lines show a directness and a natural simplicity that was a stranger in the schools of rhetoric which strove for brevity only for the sake of point. These have the Homeric tone that marked so much of the work of Ennius. The same touch is apparent in the description of action as illustrated in such a scene as this:

Before all others, in the bloom of youth,
Flashed Murrus, scion of Rutulian stock
(Yet from his mother Greek, and blended so
Dulichian blood with Roman). Now he heard
The shouts of Aradus calling his friends
To help, and where the corselet and the helm
Just failed to meet, wary, he thrust his spear,
And o'er the prostrate form with mocking voice
There now, he cried, thou liest, treacherous foe:
Thou would'st be first to climb the Capitol
As victor. Whence so proud a prayer? Take now
Thy battle to the Stygian Jove. He spoke
And drove his spear deep in the Spaniard's thigh,
His heel upon the lips that sobbed in death.
One final taunt: Here lies thy road to Rome,
So must thou hie thee on thy urgent way.

Even the speeches in Silius are more Homeric than rhetorical though at times the temptation to rival Lucan proved almost too strong, as for example in the appeal of Flaminius to his forces at Lake Trasumennus.

But the passage in the twelfth book wherein Silius describes the saving of Ennius by Apollo exhibits a warmth of feeling that supports a suspicion that the later poet looked to the older with something of the veneration of a disciple. "This man" Apollo prophesies "shall sing in illustrious strains the wars of Italy and shall extol her leaders to the skies: he shall teach Helicon to resound with Latin measures nor shall he yield in glory to the bard of Ascrea." And so Apollo saved him and when he had sung the wars of Italy and extolled her heroes, future generations revered his poem and abandoned his methods. The epic developed and changed

and came under the sway of rhetoric. But Silius reverted to the Annalist. His story marches along from beginning to end with a directness that must have been entirely unwelcome to his own day but which is refreshing as a relief from the exaggerated diffuseness of Lucan and Statius. The first two books by sheer narrative force sustain the interest with scarcely a break and had Silius had the good fortune to die before writing more, he might have been hailed as another of those incomparable geniuses lost to the world through a premature death.

In the construction of the Aeneid, Vergil, as everyone agrees and as Sellar has most brilliantly demonstrated, followed in general a composite model originating in the Iliad and the Odyssey. The Greek epic writers, like the dramatic, had largely avoided historical subjects in favor of mythological, national interest in favor of human. The early Roman epic had been both historical and national. Of course, no one will question the patriotic impulse of Vergil: perhaps his greatest single achievement was the grafting of an intense national interest onto a mythological tale so successfully that the process is invisible in the result. But fundamentally Vergil follows the Greek construction: his is a poem of mythological adventure.

Vergil's epic is of the sophisticated literary type, but its models are of the natural saga class of narrative poem, very sharply contrasted with the annalistic epic of Ennius, and, this being so, it seems to follow logically that Silius was following the Ennian model and not the Vergilian in the matter of general conception. In his protest against the manner of his own day he goes back, in spite of his reverence for the memory of Vergil, and in spite of his innumerable Vergilian reminiscences, to a tradition older than Vergil and more purely Roman. It was a tradition that had never died. In general it is the tradition which Lucan followed too, himself in doctrine a *laudator temporis acti*, though in practise a radical rhetorician. For Lucan's reminiscences of Vergil are largely verbal; his framework is fundamentally annalistic. Silius has the verbal echoes and he has also the more extensive borrowings that have always been heavily stressed. Butler can see little but these "unintelligent plagiarisms and vexatious absurdities" as he calls them. There are the engraved shield, the funeral games, the catalogues, the visit to the lower world, and more beside. But even Butler is forced to the admission that, apart from these,

"the actual form and composition of the work show some skill," that the "poet passes from scene to scene, from battle to battle, with ease and assurance," at least "in the earlier books." And if we are trying not so much to evaluate the poet as to discover what he was trying to do and what tendencies of his day he illustrated and emphasized, then this latter success is more important than the obvious inferiorities that appear in comparison with the greatest of all Roman poets.

It requires only a casual recollection of the poem of Silius to recognize its annalistic character. Beginning with the causes of the great Punic War, the author plunges directly into the opening phase, the siege of Saguntum in the year 219 B.C. Then follows Hannibal's march over the Alps and his entry into Italy with the battles in the Po valley (218). The battle of Lake Trasumennus in the following year runs into Book VI, after which Fabius and his policy of delay occupy the foreground. Then comes Cannae and the events that follow in 216 up to the occupation of Capua by Hannibal. The twelfth book covers five years of practical inactivity. In 211 Scipio the Great appears on the scene and the war drifts to its close in 202. There are occasional pauses in which some bit from the past is introduced to make the history complete, but these bits are not parts of the main narrative. The work is that of a true Roman annalist with its orderly progress, its hero leaders, and its ever-present gods.

Now Silius was a Stoic. Epictetus' rather dubious evidence is hardly necessary to make this fact certain. His own deliberate suicide in the face of an incurable disease gave confirmation to the Stoic doctrine which he enunciated in the Punic War (XI. 186): jealous nature armed us with no other boon so great as this, that the door of death lies open and gives to us the power of leaving a life that is intolerable. Furthermore the tone throughout the poem is Stoic. *Ardua virtutem profert via* (II. 528) sounds the keynote of his philosophy. Virtue and Pleasure argue for the soul of young Scipio and there is no question of which is the poet's side of the argument. *Extremumque diem primus tulit* (III. 135) is the heart of Stoic fatalism. Luxury and wealth and power are frequently inveighed against and virtue is just as frequently lauded. But Silius' virtue is not the unbending and unlovely thing that Cato exemplified; it is not even the stern incorruptibility of Paetus Thrasea. There is almost a Vergilian understanding in the

lines, *miserisque bonis perit horrida virtus* (XI. 419) and *blandoque veneno desidia virtus paulatim evicta senescit* (III. 580), and such a statement as *magnanima invidia virtus caret* (XV. 387) places Silius above the raucous fanatics of the Stoic opposition. He is a pure minded worshipper of virtue — *ipsa quidem virtus sibimet pulcherrima merces* (XIII. 603) — who cultivated the good old customs in the midst of cultured luxury. It is true that he expresses the Stoic opposition to kings and tyrants who form a considerable portion of his population of Hell and whose last thought is honor — *vilissima regi cura pudor* (XIV. 92) — and it seems altogether probable that this was expressive of his real belief, but he is like Agricola who conserved his powers for better days and proved that good men could live even under bad emperors. His nearest approach to an attack on his own times is found in the prophecy of Voluptas that she will some day be the sovereign mistress of Rome (XV. 125):

That day shall come when Rome to my commands
Shall yield obedience, rejoice to serve,
And honor shall be paid to me alone.

He admires stern virtue but his ideal is exemplified by Brutus: *Laeta viro gravitas ac mentis amabile pondus / et sine tristitia virtus* (VIII. 609). He is a true disciple of Panaetius rather than of Diogenes.

All of this coincides with what we know of his life. As a citizen he did his duty in the office of consul and as governor of Asia. He was eminent in the law and the charge made by Pliny that he had been a delator is left dubious even by that purveyor of scandal. He was called into conference by Vitellius and was on friendly terms with the later emperors, living in luxurious retirement, visited by the leading men of his day. It seems safe to assume that he belonged to that quieter Stoic group of cultivated men and women that must have formed the choicest society of the last half of the first century. They appear in the letters of Pliny and in the epigrams of Martial and they emerge from the pages of Tacitus who was himself one of them. They were supporters of the old order, dreamers of a new republic, no doubt still celebrating the birthdays of Brutus and Cassius with secret toasts, but they were for the most part men of the world and men of peace. They served the state when they could and when that was impossible they main-

tained a dignified retirement. But always for them the old days were the golden days.

Silius had much to retire to: his villas, his works of art, his books, and his writing. In spite of the honors paid him with no hope of return, he must have lived much in the past and when he published his epic it can hardly have come as a surprise to his friends to find that it breathed the spirit of Ennius. The parallel with Tacitus whose first essay into the field of history opened with a ringing echo of Cato is both striking and significant.

This group of quiet Stoics were still Stoics in spite of the fact that they were gentlemen first and the very name of Stoic had come to stand for a reactionary attitude ever since the radical modernists under Tigellinus had put an end to Seneca's attempt at bringing the empire under the sway of modified Stoicism. The spirit of opposition took various forms. Paetus Thrasea left the senate in disgust and, as Tacitus says, incurred danger for himself without helping the cause. Juvenal preached morality. Many men went into retirement. In every case Stoicism opposed the spirit of the day whether that spirit manifested itself in religion or in politics or in literature. Silius seems to have been no obstructionist. He enjoyed the society of his own circle and played his part up to a certain point in public life. But still he served the opposition by writing an epic, not of the civil wars whose questions were still live questions, nor yet in the safer fields of Greek mythology, but an epic of the good old days of Roman independence and greatness, written in the manner of the father of Roman poetry.

That there was a real and conscious quarrel between the supporters of the "old" writers and those who worshipped the new is beyond doubt.

It is also fairly clear that in spite of his political sympathies the Stoic-republican author of the *Pharsalia*, was, by another freak of his immature nature, the great exponent in epic of the "new" style. Nor can there be any question that this was the generally popular style of the Flavian period. Martial bears testimony to the sale of Lucan's book and Martial and Statius both celebrate his birthday in terms that indicate great popularity. Statius followed in Lucan's footsteps and he too, so he informs us, was widely read even before his death. It seems extremely doubtful whether,

notwithstanding Martial's commendation, Silius' epic was ever in danger of becoming a best seller.

For the conclusion that Silius wrote a really successful epic of the early Roman type would not be justified. The Punic War has innumerable defects. Such combinations as *genitore, Pelore* (XIV. 426) or *caeduntque caduntque* (XII. 385) might be excusable in Ennius himself in the childhood of Roman hexameter, but they are not bearable in the first century even though they occur in Lucan and more often in Statius than in Silius. The rhythm is frequently monotonous and it was probably unwise for Silius to discard the improvements made by Vergil especially in the increased use of dactyls. Abruptness of transition sometimes offends the ear and bewilders the mind. It is beyond question that the more dramatic type of epic, whether it be the naive saga or the more consciously literary product, is more satisfying in practically every way than the annalistic.

Furthermore, Silius did not completely succeed in eliminating the evils against which his poem was a protest. Into his largely objective narrative creeps now and again the satiric spirit of the age. Money is the source of crime (I. 231); the earlier generations were blessed in their honest poverty (I. 609); Fides makes a rather long speech inveighing against gold and luxury (II. 494 ff); at one time violence is pictured as the successful rival of virtue (II. 504), at another, superstition (V. 126); there is one long apostrophe addressed to wealth and power as the sources of degeneracy and evil (V. 360 ff); Ambitus is arraigned at another point (VIII. 257) and the occupation of Capua furnishes the occasion for lengthy satiric digressions (XI. 32 ff and 425 ff). Juvenal is anticipated in the thoroughly satiric line, *at raræ fumant felicibus aræ* (VII. 89).

Senecan melodrama and the relish for horrible details are at times evident although not to any great extent, decidedly less I should say than in either Lucan or Statius. Fairly typical is the scene in which the young Hannibal is inspired with the wrath of Hamilcar (I. 80 ff):

Within the city's midst there stands a shrine
To Dido's spirit consecrate, imbued with all
The awe of Tyrian gloom. Box trees and pine,
With darkling shadows, circle it and hide
The light of heaven. Here in ages past

The queen had freed herself from mortal woes.
Dark marbles, effigies of ancient kings,
Stand in long lines; proud Belus and his sons,
Agenor, glory of the race, and next
Phoenix that left an ageless name, the queen
Dido herself, linked for eternity
With great Sychaeus, at her feet
A sword of Phrygian make. And there appear
A hundred altars to the gods above
And to the lords of Hell, in serried ranks.
With locks disshevelled, in her Stygian garb,
The priestess calls the powers of Acheron.
Earth groans as through the darkling shadows bursts
The horrid Sibyl; with unkindled fires
The altars flame.

The portents that follow and the magic and the oath of Hannibal are quite in the manner of Seneca's tragedies. The death of Tagus with its melodramatic sequel (I. 170) furnishes an instance of dreadful details, and the appearance of the fury Tisiphone at Saguntum (II. 543 ff) with Death and Grief and Cerberus in her train would have entirely satisfied the Corduban playwright. Laevinus gnawing at the face of Tyres (VI. 42 ff) is one of the most revolting scenes (it is borrowed from Lucan), although the fairly detailed description of the pestilence (XIV. 597 ff) may possibly earn the palm in this field. There is typically Senecan exaggeration in the fire which dries up the Trebia (IV. 677 ff) and in the conceit which depicts the lines by the river as so thick that the dead have no room to fall (IV. 553). A little too much learning is displayed by Scipio in the lower world (XIII. 471 ff) so that the reader is relieved when the interruption of the Sibyl puts an end to the discussion of methods of burial. (Lucan's learned specialities were snakes, astronomy, and potamology.)

On the other hand, there is, taking the poem as a whole, a refreshing lack of rhetorical bombast and an absence of the straining after effect which the age of rhetoric so generally fostered. There are very few sententious remarks and almost as few epigrammatic phrases. It requires but a glance at the outline of Lucan's epic to see the sharp contrast between the two poems from a rhetorical point of view. Apostrophies, speeches, descriptions, digressions of every kind form the bulk of the Pharsalia while the narrative of the Punic War marches on with almost no interruptions in comparison with the earlier poem.

And so we come with some possibility of understanding to the two great criticisms that have been levelled persistently at the work of Silius, that it was made ridiculous by the introduction of divine machinery and that it is hopelessly pedestrian, plodding along in dreary fashion with unrelieved prosaic monotony. It might be fair to ask, why should not the gods play their part in an epic of the Punic War. They could hardly enter with good grace the Civil War of Pompey and Caesar: the events were too recent and too hopelessly lacking in any divine element: it took all the genius of a Lucan to give even the semblance of a high patriotic motive to the efforts of the stupid old drill sergeant to perpetuate the machine government of the senate; it was Caesar alone who possessed even a spark of inspiration and Caesar was the villain of the piece. Silius could appeal to a thoroughly national ideal, and his Rome was making a mighty struggle against a worthy villain in Hannibal. He was dealing with history to be sure but it was the history of the earlier and more shadowy days. Paulus and Varro and Scipio and Hannibal lived and died almost three centuries before the day of their chronicler and many a myth had gathered round them in the interim. The gods are quite all right, the critics tell us, in the story of Aeneas; they are not impossible at the battle of Lake Regillus. Where then shall we draw the line? An epic poet of to-day writing the history of Jeanne d'Arc would hardly venture to leave out the heavenly voices.

But the critics will have it that the intervention of the gods is one thing, the use of the supernatural in the form of omens and portents and ghosts and dreams quite another, and so they justify Lucan with his extravagant employment of the latter and condemn Silius for his comparatively limited use of the former. The aim of the later author seems clear: he was reverting consciously and with a purpose to the older models and to him therefore the sort of divination that appealed to the jaded nerves of the first century was to be avoided in favor of the simpler machinery of the gods that Ennius had employed. He made use of prophecy by omens and in the mouth of an inspired soldier (VIII. 656) who reminds us of the prophetic woman in the first book of Lucan. Dreams too play their part especially in the latest books. But these elements appear only with somewhat the same prevalence as that with which the omens appear in Livy and in Tacitus, less frequently than in the mediaeval chroniclers, and are as nothing in comparison

with the prodigies and prophecies in Lucan, including Pompey's vision of Julia, the Delphic Oracle, and the Thessalian witches. In the face of Statius' use of divine machinery even Lucan appears to have been a man of marked restraint. Obviously Silius *intended* a protest against the melodramatic and rhetorical use of the supernatural. If we are to judge from the point of view of modern taste there can be little doubt that, whatever brilliancy in detail is shown by Lucan and Statius, Silius' restraint is more to be commended. There was something of sound criticism in the protest.

The second almost universal criticism, that of dullness, must be admitted as having a large foundation of truth. There are long passages of unrelieved monotony. On the other hand, the first two books have tremendous vigor. The action is rapid, the interest sustained. From the brief statement of his theme Silius passes immediately to the wrath of Juno kindled in Hannibal, to the oath which Hamilcar had exacted of him, and so to the series of dramatic events that followed. If the same high level of excellence could have been maintained the charge of dullness would not have arisen. As it is, the interest does not seriously flag until Hannibal has settled down in Capua. From that point on the genius of Silius was insufficient to make thrilling a story whose interest was essentially undramatic. But even in this he is not unlike Lucan, for his poem too must be praised for its parts and not for its excellence as a unified whole.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to take up in detail the arguments that have been hurled against the Punic War. Let it be admitted at once that the poem is not essentially a great one. But at the same time let it be also recognized that it is no abysmal failure. It has real excellence. The first two books show true epic power. And, apart from the question of failure or success, let us appreciate what its writer strove to do. In an age of artificial rhetoric when epigram was at a premium and the purple patch held supremacy as perhaps never before or since, Silius, true to his traditional beliefs, dared to utter an impressive protest, pointing the audience of his own day back to national models well nigh forgotten but greater than the brilliant failures which that audience was every day applauding.

GRUNDLAGEN DES GEISTIGEN LEBENS IN FRÜHNEUHOCHDEUTSCHER ZEIT

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Das 16. Jahrhundert ist für das geistige Gesicht Deutschlands die entscheidende Zeit geworden, damals haben auf Jahrhunderte hinaus deutscher Geist und deutsches Gemüt ihr Gepräge erhalten und für immer wird, was damals errungen wurde, zu den Grundzügen deutschen Wesens gezählt werden. In Angst und Gewissensbedrängnis, aber zugleich in tiefdringender Kraft suchte eine grosse Nation ihren Gott und die Wahrheit, Frieden für ihr Gewissen und Inhalt für ihr Leben: die alte Erkenntnis, Geistesleben und Glaube des Mittelalters waren ihr schal, arm und unwahr geworden. Die eine religiöse Sehnsucht wurde auf lange Zeit die einzige; nationale und staatliche Entwicklung mussten darunter leiden. Während die Nachbarn ringsum, Frankreich und England vor allem, ihren nationalen Staat ausbauten, zur Einheit im Innern, zur Stärke nach aussen vordrangen, blieb das heilige römische Reich in alter Kraftlosigkeit, verspätete sich die staatliche Einigung Deutschlands um Jahrhunderte. Die furchtbarsten inneren Kämpfe folgten, und spät erst erhob sich das Land aus tiefer politischer Ohnmacht zur Bildung eines modernen Staats mit neuer Verfassung und eigenem Recht.

All das ist verschuldet durch die einseitig religiöse Anspannung des 16. Jahrhunderts, die zudem einen tiefen Riss durch Deutschland zog, die beiden Hälften des Volks einander schmerzlich entfremdete und gegen einander in den Kampf trieb — und doch ist es eine grosse Zeit gewesen, auf die wir mit Ehrfurcht zurückblicken sollen. Ihr verdankt unser geistiges Leben alles, was jetzt unsern Stolz und unsre Hoffnung ausmacht: Freiheit des Geisteslebens, Idealismus und Sittlichkeit, den ungehemmten Zug zur Wahrheit und damit unsere Wissenschaft mit dem Schwung ihrer Gedanken und der Wucht ihrer Methoden. Uns aber bleibt als Vermächtnis aus jener grossen Zeit die Pflicht zu vollenden, was unsern Ahnen vor vierhundert Jahren nicht voll gelungen ist, schon

darum kann man den Blick nicht oft genug auf jene Tage zurückwenden. Noch immer stehen wir ja, und gerade jetzt wieder ernster denn je, in dem Kampf um deutsches Wesen, der damals begann. Damit ist auch schon ausgesprochen, dass keine geschichtliche Darstellung der Vorgänge vor vierhundert Jahren möglich ist ohne klare Parteinahme für oder gegen die Reformation: in der staatlichen, kirchlichen wie geistigen Geschichte, überall steht am Eingang die grosse, entscheidungsvolle Frage, die sich in das einzige Wort zusammenfassen lässt: *Rom*.

“*Roma caput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi*” — das stolze Wort galt auch noch, als die Germanen das alte Weltreich längst in Stücke geschlagen hatten. Mächtiger als einst das Reich der Caesaren und Karolinger wuchs ein anderes römisches Reich empor, ein Reich, das vorgab, nicht von dieser Welt zu sein, und dabei doch das geistige und bald auch das staatliche Leben der Welt mit dünnen, zähen, unzerreissbaren Fäden lenkte. Das mittelalterliche Kaisertum *wollte* international sein, die römische Kirche war es *wirklich*, und schon darum war sie dem römischen Kaiser weitaus überlegen. Für mittelalterliche Weltanschauung war der Papst die Sonne, der Kaiser der Mond, beider Autorität wurde an dem Verhältnis der beiden Himmelslichter gemessen. Als dann die Hohenstaufen untergingen, in Deutschland wilde Anarchie um sich griff und ein Königreich nach dem andern zum päpstlichen Lehen gedrückt wurde, da schien schon auf Erden die *Ecclesia militans* zur *Ecclesia triumphans* zu steigen, da zitterten wie einst zu Caesars Zeiten vor den römischen Legaten Fürsten und Völker. Mit eisernem Szepter weidete der grosse gekrönte Priester die Völker durch ein unerbittliches Rechtssystem, vor dem es kein Entrinnen gab, durch eine Inquisition, der der Staat zu dienen hatte wie ein Henker, ohne eignen Willen. Gleich streng herrschte die Kirche im Reich der Geister durch die Scholastik, unerschüttert stand ihr System, seit Thomas von Aquino Glauben und Wissen vermählt hatte, und auch in der kirchlichen Philosophie wiederholte sich das Spiel, dass eine völlig dem Jenseits zugekehrte Weltanschauung eine grossartige Beherrschung auch alles irdischen Denkens ausübte. In jedem wichtigen Augenblick des Lebens, in jeder Pause der täglichen Arbeit, vor, in und nach dem Tagewerk fühlte der mittelalterliche Mensch die starke Hand der Mutter Kirche über sich, und er *sollte* sie fühlen. In Sakrament und Symbol umgab und durchtränkte sie sein ganzes Leben, in Legende, Arch-

itektur und Gesang alle seine Kunst. Päpstliche Gewalt und kirchliche Machtvollkommenheit waren auf ihrer Höhe.

Aber auf den Schritt zur höchsten Macht musste auch hier ein Abstieg folgen. Unter der schützenden Form der Christenheit waren die jugendlichen Völker Europas zu eigener Kraft herangereift. Das französische Königtum, hinter dem damals das reifste Volk seiner Zeit stand, führte den ersten Schlag. In den Tagen von Avignon geriet das Papsttum in französische Botmässigkeit, die geistlichen Waffen verloren für die mündig werdenden Völker ihre Schärfe und ihre Schrecken. Neben der geistlichen wurde eine weltliche Bildung gross, neben der kirchlichen Verneinung der Welt eine freudige Bejahung. Die Ritterdichtung verherrlichte andere Ideale als das Mönchtum, die Berührung mit den Sarazenen, der endliche Sieg des Islams in Palästina brachten manchem Kreuzfahrer Zweifel, ob seine Weltansicht denn auch wirklich die einzig richtige sei, der Geist am Hof Kaiser Friedrichs II. in Palermo war so wenig kirchlich, wie etwa der in Lessings "Nathan." Mit dem Emporblühen des Bürgertums wurde der Sinn für gesellige Kultur und feinen Lebensgenuss wach, man suchte sich in dieser argen Welt immer behaglicher einzurichten, und damit verband sich (wie immer) ein derberer Materialismus auch als Gesinnung. Der Laie fühlte sich dem Geistlichen an Bildung immer mehr gewachsen, Dante hielt Gericht über seine Zeit, über Kaiser und Papst: erschüttert und erschütternd rief er, der Laie, sein Wehe über die gesunkene Kirche. Und nun begannen in Italien gar die klassischen Dichter aus tausendjährigem Schlaf zu erwachen, sie redeten in nie gehörten, gewaltigen Stimmen zu der sehnstüchtig lauschenden Menschheit — damit war eine neue Zeit unwiderstehlich im Anzug. Der alte Boden begann den Menschen unter den Füßen zu weichen. Nur durch die Kirche hatten sie mit Gott verkehrt und verkehren dürfen, Gott hatte zu Gunsten der Kirche auf den unmittelbaren Verkehr mit den Seelen der Laien verzichtet. Aber nun zeigte sich mit erschreckender Deutlichkeit, dass diese grosse Mittlerin selbst verderbt, an Haupt und Gliedern tödtlich erkrankt war. Die Summe aller jener Erscheinungen, die man als "Verweltlichung der Kirche" zusammenfasst, die furchtbare sittliche Verwilderung der Geistlichkeit, liess sich nicht länger verbergen: in den grossen Kirchenspaltungen wurde die tiefe Verderbnis vollends offenbar, in Mystik und Sekten, in Waldensern, Wicliff und Hus erstanden immer neue Feinde. Im

Konzil von Konstanz ging die Weisheit der Pariser Professoren daran, der Kurie die Zügel zu entreissen und die Reformation zu erzwingen, erwies sich aber nur in der Verneinung stark und zeigte, dass sich die römische Kirche aus eigener Kraft nicht reformieren konnte. Der einzige wahrhaft reformatorische Geist, der in Konstanz war, Johann Hus, wurde mit Feuer überwunden, dem alten schlechten Auskunftsmittel, aber die Husiten zeigten sich unüberwindlich, und das war die nächste böse Niederlage, die die "katholische" Kirche erlitt. Die utraquistische Landeskirche von Böhmen hat sich als ein umgrenztes, aber drohendes Vorzeichen der kommenden Trennung behauptet.

Die Verweltlichung des päpstlichen Stuhls ging unterdessen ungehemmt ihren Gang, der Papst wurde immer deutlicher zum italienischen Landesfürsten, Meister in allen Künsten einer höchst weltlichen Diplomatie. Diese Entwicklung wird unter Alexander VI. und Julius II. abgeschlossen: der politische Ehrgeiz dieser "Beherrscher der Christenheit" beschränkte sich auf die Vergrößerung des Kirchenstaats und die Sicherung ihrer Familie. Das Papsttum war italienisch geworden. Mit der ununterbrochenen Reihe dieser italienischen Päpste hielt zugleich der *Humanismus* im Vatikan Einzug: die neue Bewegung, deren eigentliches Ziel die Befreiung der Menschen von dem Druck strengkirchlicher Weltanschauung war, fügte sich trotz ihrer heidnischen Gelüste trefflich zu diesem Papsttum. Unter Leo X., dem Medicäer, wurde der verfeinerte Lebensgenuss, die Kultur des Geistes und der Schönheit, zum Programm des päpstlichen Hofes. Rafael und Michelangelo sind die Paladine, die neue Peterskirche das Denkmal dieses "Reichs der Pallas." Vergeblich erhob in dieser halbheidnischen Sonnenwelt der düstere Dominikaner Savonarola seine Stimme: seine sittliche, nicht dogmatische Reform erwies sich als zu inhaltleer, um dem Strom einer solchen Zeit Einhalt zu gebieten. Auf die leichtbeweglichen Italiener der Renaissance konnte diese Erscheinung von alttestamentlicher Wucht und Einseitigkeit nur ganz vorübergehend Eindruck machen.

Mit eigentümlich gemischten Gefühlen, halb Bewunderung und Grauen, halb Verachtung und Mitleid, sahen diese Italiener auf die alte Glaubenseinfalt und Redlichkeit ihrer deutschen Nachbarn hinüber, auf die ungeschlachte Kraft des heiligen römischen Reichs deutscher Nation. Scheinbar war dieses Staatliche Ungetüm ein Bild aufrichtiger Kirchlichkeit, nicht angekränkt vom Geist

welscher Verderbnis und humanistischer Kritik. Wer aber genauer hinsah, der erkannte bald die Anzeichen des Sturms, der von Norden her über die Kirche hinbrausen und sie zum Wanken bringen sollte. Gefährlicher als alle früheren Stürme und Strömungen wurden der allmächtigen Hierarchie das Erwachen des deutschen Gewissens und die Hammerschläge, mit denen der Mönch von Wittenberg seine 95 Thesen an die Tür der Schlosskirche nagelte. So führt dieser erste Weg notwendig auf den religiösen Genius des Jahrhunderts, auf Martin Luther. Der Blick wendet sich von der römischen Kirche auf ihren deutschen Reformator.

Die Dogmen, die Martin Luther geprägt hat und um die seine Freunde ihr Leben eingesetzt haben, sind uns geschichtlich geworden. Die Seelenkämpfe in der massiv sinnlichen Gestalt, wie er sie durchlebt und mit seinem altdeutschen Teufel ausgerungen hat, sind uns nur als Symbol noch verständlich. Vierhundert Jahre geistiger und sittlicher Kultur haben weiter führen müssen, heller sehen gelehrt. Aber wir sehen nur darum weiter, weil wir auf den Schultern des Riesen stehen, er hat den Grund gelegt zu der Entfaltung deutschen Geisteslebens, die die Folgezeit gebracht hat.

Wir nennen die Jahre von 1517 bis 1559 die Reformationszeit, und selten stimmt ein Name so gut zum Inhalt seines Zeitalters, denn diese vier Jahrzehnte, etwa die Regierung Karls V. umspannend, werden tatsächlich von Martin Luthers Werk beherrscht. Es ist das religiöse Jahrhundert, in dem sie liegen, und doch darf nicht jede Erscheinung darin rein aus religiösem Grund hergeleitet werden. Vielmehr wirken die grossen Gegensätze der auswärtigen Politik entscheidend mit, der weltgeschichtliche zwischen Papst, Kaiser und Sultan, der europäische zwischen dem Haus Habsburg und Frankreich. Die inneren staatlichen Zustände haben die Reformation hundertfältig beeinflusst: die Kämpfe zwischen Adel, Bürgern und Bauern, die Entwicklung des modernen Staats mit seinem Fürsten- und Beamtentum, seinem Anspruch auf feste, klare Souveränität, die Befreiung des einzelnen aus der Körperschaft — alle diese inneren und äusseren Einflüsse lassen die Reformation erst zu dem werden, was sie ist. Dabei liegen die Vorgänge, die die Welt von damals entscheidend bestimmt und in ihre künftige Richtung gedrängt haben, in Deutschland.

Staatlich unterscheidet sich das damalige Deutschland von seinen westlichen Nachbarn dadurch, dass hier nicht die Einheit gesiegt hat, wie in Spanien, Frankreich und England, sondern die Zer-

splitterung. Das Kaisertum ist zum Landesfürstentum mit ein paar allgemeinen Attributen gesunken. Kaiser Maximilian fühlte sich gewissermassen als wohlwollender Bundesgenosse der zum Reich zusammengeballten Staaten. Er verteidigte die Grenzen des Reichs, aber im Grund doch nur aus selbstsüchtigen Absichten, weil sonst auch seine Hausmacht Schaden genommen hätte. Zunächst war er Habsburger, dann erst Kaiser. Neben ihm herrschte im Reich die Oligarchie der sieben Kurfürsten mit ihren Parteien, die ohne grosse, gleichbleibende Ziele einmal mit, einmal gegen den Kaiser gingen — alles war da zu finden, nur nicht Einheit und Ruhe. Die Welt ringsum hatte sich staatlich geeinigt, Deutschland konnte es nicht dazu bringen. Dabei stecken Kaiser Max, seine Regierung und seine Gegner im Reich voller *Reformgedanken*. Eine geschlossene kurfürstliche Reformpartei unter dem Erzbischof von Mainz, Berthold von Henneberg, will Gericht, Steuer und Heer vereinheitlichen, die römischen Juristen schwärmen für ein starkes Kaisertum, das Volk hofft auf seinen Erlöser in der Gestalt des Kaisers, denn die Bewegung ist gut deutsch, monarchisch und kaiserlich. Aber Kaiser Max machte alle Hoffnungen zu schanden: er war trotz aller Begabung und geistigen Regsamkeit nicht der starke Retter, den die Zeit brauchte, der sich ruhig und stetig durchgesetzt hätte. Zu glänzen wusste er und beliebt war er genug, aber zugleich so unstet und unstaatsmännisch, dass er in den 26 Jahren seiner Regierung (1493-1519) nichts Endgültiges erreicht hat. Die ganze Reihe der vielversprechenden Reformreichstage hat nichts Lebendiges getan.

Noch ist das Reich der erste Staat der Christenheit, aber von allen Seiten rücken die Gegner heran. Noch sind die Grenzen weit, aber schwer zu verteidigen, das Kaisertum ist heilig und anspruchsvoll, aber militärisch so schwach wie staatlich. Der Kaiser war theoretisch die Quelle alles Rechts, Lehnsherr und oberster Schiedsrichter selbst über die Fürsten, praktisch bekam er nicht einmal Steuern, wenn sie nicht der Reichstag bewilligte, und das war damals die schwierigste Körperschaft von der Welt, die mit ewigen Verspätungen und Vertretungen arbeitete, beschlüsse mühsam fasste und kaum je durchführte. So war eigentlich nur eine passive Kraft, kein eigenes Leben, im Reich verkörpert. Dreihundert Jahre rollte es durch die Kraft der Trägheit noch fort, bis es völlig zerbröckelte, aber tätiges Leben und lebendige Entwicklung war schon damals nur in den *Einzelstaaten* vorhanden. Die

Entwicklung hier im deutschen Kleinstaats entspricht der in den westeuropäischen Gesamtstaaten, der Entwicklung des spanischen, französischen und englischen Königtums.

In stetigem Wachstum waren Grafengewalt und Grundherrschaft zur Landeshoheit geworden, nach oben freier, nach unten immer fester. Die Stände dieser Einzelstaaten waren durch das Recht der Geldbewilligung zur Macht gelangt, dadurch wissen sie in unsrer Zeit die Fürsten zu bändigen. Im Kampf mit ihnen erstarkt der neuzeitliche Einheitsstaat, der, sobald er nach innen gefestigt ist, auf Erweiterung nach aussen drängt. Die Grossen wachsen auf Kosten der Kleinen, und so ergibt sich eine beständige Auslese der Stärkeren, die bis ins 20. Jahrhundert fortgegangen ist. Mit dieser Abrundung geht dann wieder die stete Festigung im Innern Hand in Hand. In Heer, Gericht und Kirche bekommt der Fürst die Führung; die Verwaltung wird zentralisiert und an geschulte Schreiber, zu deutsch Bürokraten ausgeliefert: hier ist der Punkt, wo die spanischen Habsburger einmal schöpferisch gewirkt haben.

So wird Deutschland aus einem Reich mehr und mehr ein Staatenbund, der Kaiser verliert immer mehr von der Führung an die Fürsten. Diese deutschen Fürsten des 16. Jahrhunderts aber sind einander von fern betrachtet alle höchst ähnlich: alle kämpfen sie hart und plump gegen das Reich und gegen einander; die grösseren Naturen unter ihnen haben etwas vom italienischen Renaissancefürsten an sich, waghalsig und gewissenlos bis zum Verbrechen, verschlagen und tapfer bis zum Heldentum. Die meisten sind aber deutscher und enger, die Mehrzahl lebt in dumpfer Schwere dahin, herrisch aber patriarchalisch, schwunglos aber pflichttreu. Dieses Fürstengeschlecht nun wird von der Reformation gepackt und von ihrem Gluthauch geläutert, es wird reicher in jedem Sinn, nicht nur äusserlich durch beschlagnahmtes Kirchengut, sondern auch durch Zuwachs an vertiefter Weltanschauung, geistigen Interessen und Sittigung.

Neben dem erstarkenden Fürstentum ging damals der Adel als Stand zu Grund. Fürsten wie Städte hatten sich gegen ihn entwickelt, und in Luthers Tagen wurde er unbarmherzig eingegliedert in die neue Ordnung, gegen die er unter Sickingen und Hutten ein letztes Mal, temperamentvoll genug, aber völlig unwirksam protestierte. Wirtschaftlich ist der Adel tot, weil er sein Land ausgetan oder verkauft hat und nun mit der Kaufkraft des Gelds

seine Einnahmen sinken sieht. Mit der Geldwirtschaft der Städte, die diese Entwicklung beschleunigt, kann er den Kampf nicht aufnehmen, der Fürst aber, der seine Verwaltung zeitgemäss ausbaut, ist mehr sein Feind als sein Helfer. Durch die Juristen in der Verwaltung, das Fussvolk im Heer wird der Edelmann vollends entbehrlich und in ohnmächtigem Trotz gegen die Entwicklung, die ihn überwältigt, macht er von seinen dürftigen, entlegenen Burgen aus die Strassen unsicher, sucht er sich in Fehde und Raub an Stadt und Bauer schadlos zu halten. Namentlich der *Bauer* ist es, an dem er seinen Unmut über die ihm ungünstige Entwicklung auslässt, und doch wäre dieser, durch die Geldwirtschaft gleicherweise gefährdet, geschichtlich zum Bundesgenossen des Adels berufen gewesen, wie er in der weiteren Entwicklung sein Leidensgefährte geworden ist. Der Bauer des Ostens wurde durch die neue Rechtsauffassung zum Hörigen, dabei ging es ihm aber wirtschaftlich nicht notwendig schlecht, und jedenfalls war er nicht revolutionär gestimmt, schon weil es im Osten an Städten mangelte, und der deutsche Bauer noch stets den revolutionären Zündstoff aus den Städten bezogen hat — auch heute tut er das noch. Dagegen war der Westen in loderndem Aufruhr. Hier hatten die alten Freien und Unfreien das Land erfüllt, bis sie sich in der Kolonisation der Lande östlich der Elbe Luft schafften. Auf diesen Abfluss folgte alsbald eine neue Auffüllung des alten Lands, damit Misstände und Auflehnung namentlich in Schwaben und um den Main. Hier waren die Bauerngüter im Erbgang so oft zwischen mehrere Söhne geteilt worden, dass schliesslich die Herren eine weitere Zersplitterung verbieten mussten. Damit aber war ein ländliches Proletariat geschaffen, landlos und unzufrieden, jeder Einflüsterung zugänglich. Die Bauern des Westens werden durch die Aufnahme des römischen Rechts leibeigen. Die Herren, denen es selbst schlecht geht, bedrängen sie bis aufs Blut, reissen Weiderecht, Fischfang und Jagd an sich, verzehren und besteuern alles übrige, rauben Freizügigkeit und dörfliche Selbstverwaltung, verlangen schwere persönliche Leistungen, und so wird der sinkende Stand der Verzweiflung in die Arme getrieben. Der Hass des Bauern trifft vor allem die Kirche, die ihn drückt und ihm nicht hilft, daneben das neue römische Recht, das für die ländlichen Verhältnisse Deutschlands um so schlechter passte, je bunter sie waren, und auf das der Bauer den Spruch münzte:

Das edel Recht ist worden krank,
Den Armen kurz, den Reichen lang.

Der Adel dagegen lebte der furchtbaren Gesinnung:

Der Bauer ist an Ochsen statt,
Nur dass er keine Hörner hat.

So war der deutsche Bauer jener Tage der soziale Paria. An keiner Kultur hatte er Anteil, jeder Stand verachtete ihn. Und gerade aus der Tiefe dieses Stands sollte der Mann kommen, der all diesen Dingen die entscheidende Wendung brachte, freilich in ganz anderm Sinn, als das arm verführte Volk anfangs gemeint und gehofft hatte: nicht auf dem Weg gewaltsamer Rückführung der alten "guten" Zeit, sondern indem er das Gesamtbild der Lage verschob und so eine gesunde Entwicklung zu neuen geordneten Zuständen ermöglichte. Unter Luthers Führung wich der Gedanke einer Revolution alsbald der grossen Tatsache der Reformation.

Und damit kommen wir auf das wichtigste Gebiet, in dem diese ganze Welt verstanden sein will: *Kirche und Religion*. Luther ist eine selbst-gewachsene Persönlichkeit, ein religiöser Genius von ursprünglichster Eigenart, und doch hat er Vorgänger, trotzdem hat seine Tat eine Vorgeschichte, durch die sie wohl nicht verursacht, aber doch vorbereitet worden ist. Zwei Ideale herrschen in der Kirche des Mittelalters, ein geistliches und ein weltliches, Armut und Weltherrschaft, Weltverneinung und Weltbejahung. In der *Papstkirche* des späteren Mittelalters hat das weltliche Ideal gesiegt, wir haben gesehen, wie sie verweltlicht ist, und das ist das eine Motiv, warum der Widerspruch sein Haupt erhebt. Das andere ist, dass die Kirche katholisch sein, alles Leben der Christenheit umfassen und in sich verkörpern will. Darum erheben sich gegen sie alle besonderen Kräfte in der Welt, nationale, wirtschaftliche, geistige. Die Nationen treten immer kräftiger aus der grossen Einheit der Christenheit heraus, der Staat geht grundsätzlich gegen die Hierarchie an, das Laienelement in den Städten wird seiner immer klarer bewusst. Aber die Hierarchie als solche blieb von allen Reformkonzilien unbesiegt, ja unberührt, der Papst wurde allmächtig, die alte Kirche hatte sich unüberwindlich, zugleich aber auch unverbesserlich gezeigt. Die *deutsche Kirche* aber war ein treues Abbild dieser römischen: die Kirchenfürsten verweltlichten in Kunst und Ueppigkeit, die Geistlichen wurden geistig und sittlich immer plumper und unzulänglicher. Es kam vor, dass

bis zu 24 Pfründen in einer Hand vereinigt waren: dann wurden 23 von kärglich gesoldeten Stellvertretern mangelhaft genug verwaltet, die sich für die Unzulänglichkeit und Unwürdigkeit ihrer Lage an der Gemeinde schadlos hielten. Dazu waren Welt- und Klostergeistlichkeit vielfach roh und ungebildet, erschreckend oft sittlich unterhöhlt. Die Kritik, die in Flugschriften und Novellen noch für uns greifbar zu Tage liegt, wurde immer stärker, entrüsteter, massloser; gestürzt hat sie allein die Kirche nicht.

Das brachte neben der übermächtigen Persönlichkeit Luthers erst die grosse Umwandlung des geistigen Lebens zu Stande, die kurz vor ihm einsetzte. Die Welt wird selbständig, das Leben rascher, die Eindrücke häufiger. Die Zeit der Entdeckung der Welt führt die Entdeckung des Menschen herauf, und hierin bahnt sich in den deutschen *Städten* eine neue Zeit an. Die Besonderheit des Einzelnen kann sich in neuen Lebensbedingungen freier entwickeln, im Handel wird der Kaufmann, der draussen in der grösser gewordenen Welt frei schalten und verfügen muss, verantwortlicher und selbständiger; ihm folgt der gewerbliche Unternehmer, und in ihrem Bewusstsein entsteht eine neue Welt, ihnen selbst als neu bewusst, und das ist das Entscheidende. Neue Gedanken werden schnell verbreitet, eine städtische Bildung löst die ritterliche ab, von den verödenen Burgen steigt sie herab auf die blühenden Märkte. Hier entwickelt sich ein derb und klar ausgeprägtes städtisches Wesen, realistisch, wie das Erwerbsleben zu sein pflegt, der rauschenden Zeit zugewandt. Der Geist dieser Bürger sucht das Wirkliche und Feste daran zu erfassen: wie man selbst freier und individueller geworden ist, so wird es auch die Wiedergabe der Aussenwelt. In der Malerei treten Porträt und Landschaft an Stelle der alten Allegorien und Typen, der Goldgrund der alten Bilder wird verdrängt durch den Ausblick in eine lebenswahre Landschaft mit klaren Zügen und heiteren Farben. Der Künstler wird selbst Persönlichkeit und wagt mit seinem Namen hervorzutreten. Die vielen Namenlosen verschwinden, wir kennen die Namen Baldung und Wolgemut, Cranach und Dürer, und sie haben guten Klang behalten. In die städtischen Chroniken kommt ein neuer Zug: auch hier treten Menschen aus der bis dahin rein zuständlichen Schilderung hervor, und daraus wächst die junge Kunst der Biographie empor. Im Briefstil werden die alte Sparsamkeit und die hölzerne Form gesprengt; mit politischen,

geschäftlichen und Familienbriefen wird fortan ein gewisser Luxus getrieben; die zukunftsreiche Gattung des Frauenbriefs schiesst in den Saft. So steht diese städtische Kultur auf festen Füßen in der Wirklichkeit. Was sie stark macht, fließt aus weltlichen Quellen, im Kampf gegen ihre Bischöfe erstarken Bischofstädte wie Augsburg und Worms. Damit war nun freilich die Selbständigkeit gegen die Kirche noch längst nicht erreicht, sondern erst angestrebt, die Persönlichkeit noch längst nicht vollendet, sondern eben erst angehoben. Noch war es derbe Massenempfindung, die sich in Ueppigkeit und Festen austat, noch war der Bann der Ueberlieferung in allem Gefühlsleben überstark, und schon den Gesichtszügen dieser Menschen sieht man es an, wie sie nordisch gebunden sind, ohne italienische Freiheit und Feinheit.

Ich vergleiche absichtlich italienische Zustände, denn in der Tat, aus Italien kommt, wie ein Föhn, der starke warme Lufthauch, der auf dem so bereiteten Boden neue Saaten sprossen lässt, der in Welt, Wissenschaft und Kunst die neue Zeit wirklich vollendet: *Renaissance* und *Humanismus*. Nur ist der deutsche Humanismus nicht in das gleiche Tuch gekleidet, wie sein älterer italienischer Bruder. Nicht das Maecenatentum einzelner hochgebildeter Höfe — die es im damaligen Deutschland nicht gab — ist sein Kern und Mittelpunkt, sondern das *Schulwesen*. Die Universitäten mit ihrer Scholastik waren geistig erlahmt, die neue Welt verlangte eine neue Wissenschaft, *Eloquentia* statt der Dialektik, Praktiker statt der Schulgelehrten. So folgt von 1450 bis 1510 ein Zeitalter der Gründung neuer Hochschulen. Ihr Urbild wird Erfurt, neben dem sich die alten wie Leipzig oder Prag nur mühsam halten. Die Hörsäle der Scholastiker veröden, die Humanisten haben den Zulauf, mit ihrem glänzenden Latein verachten sie tief die Gegner. Aber bei allem Glanz war viel Spiegelfechtereie, bei dem leichten Poetentum viel eitle, sittenlose Verführung. Die Geister, die auf die Folgezeit fortwirken sollten, indes jene laute leichte Gruppe verwehte, arbeiteten still an einem Neubau der Wissenschaft, und sie waren es, die geradeswegs zu einer Kritik auch der Kirche und des Papsttums kommen mussten, einfach indem sie ihren Ruf "Zurück zu den Quellen!" auch auf die Theologie anwendeten.

Allen Wissenschaften brachte der Humanismus Gewinn durch die innige Berührung mit dem Altertum; allein er hätte doch die neue Welt, die kommen musste, nicht gebaut. Eine Macht im Volk

sind die deutschen Humanisten nie geworden, die Schicht war zu dünn, und tiefer zu dringen haben sie sich nie auch nur Mühe gegeben. Erasmus, der einzige, der grundsätzlich Neues zu sagen hatte, war völlig Aristokrat, sein Gebäck war zu fein und zu kraftlos für den Magen der Menge. Die Zeit ist religiös gestimmt, sozial tief erregt — ästhetische Neigungen hatte sie nicht. So konnte der Humanismus wohl vorbereiten und zersetzen, aber nicht ersetzen, hierzu bedurfte es vielmehr einer völlig neuen Religiosität. Die alte Religion, wie sie die Kirche in der Arbeit eines Jahrtausends aufgebaut hatte, macht den Einzelnen von der Kirchenlehre abhängig. Die heilbringende Gnade ist an die Kirche gebunden, ausser ihr ist kein Heil, ohne Rechtfertigung durch gute Werke keine Seligkeit. Die Praxis dieser guten Werke wird immer äusserlicher ausgebildet und zugleich dem Prunk der römischen Kirche immer handgreiflicher dienstbar gemacht. Dagegen zuerst erhebt sich das Bewusstsein der Christenheit, sobald es zur Kritik erwacht ist, und erst nachdem es in der Gegnerschaft gegen die Verweltlichung der Kirche erstarkt ist, empört es sich auch gegen ihre geistliche Herrschaft. Erst in Luther ist der neue Individualismus so weit entwickelt, dass er die Mittlerschaft der Kirche läugnet und damit die alte Religiosität durch eine neue ersetzt.

Das ist in grossen Zügen die staatliche, soziale und kirchliche Welt, in der das geistige Leben der deutschen Reformationszeit wurzelt.

MACAULAY'S READING AND LITERARY CRITICISM

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Thomas Macaulay's place as a critic of literature depends chiefly upon the essays or short biographies: *Milton*, *The Colloquies of Robert Southey*, *The Poems of Robert Montgomery*,¹ *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*, *Croker's Edition of Boswell's Johnson*, *Bacon*, *The Comic Dramatists of the Restoration*, *Madame D'Arblay*,² *Adison*, *Dryden*, *Johnson*. Besides these, most of which are grouped under Macaulay's *Critical and Historical Essays*, there are numerous sketches and brief criticisms, available in the *Miscellaneous Writings*.

Almost a century has elapsed since Macaulay published *Milton*, the first of his critical essays, in 1825. The development during that time of opinion concerning Macaulay's powers as a literary critic is interesting. This opinion in Macaulay's life-time was generally favorable. He was the most aggressive of the pugilistic school of early nineteenth century criticism; not only this, but he was endowed with a memory, an imagination, and a style that stunned his contemporaries. The faults that we see so clearly in Macaulay as a critic of literature — his exaggeration, and his love of externals — were obscured to his generation by the brilliance of his performance in a manner which they approved. Of course there were dissenting voices, but Macaulay in his own day was hardly less successful as a literary critic than as a historian.³

¹ Macaulay's comments on Montgomery in his letters reflect his opinions in the essay: "He is the silliest scribbler of my time." *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, p. 301. See also *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 180; Vol. II, p. 236.

² See also *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 410. Herbert Paul considers "the short biographies of Atterbury, Bunyan, Goldsmith, Johnson, and Pitt . . . perfect models of artistic condensation." *Men and Letters*, "Macaulay and His Critics," p. 312. In *A Short Story of Modern English Literature*, p. 7, Edmund Gosse says that this essay on *Milton* is "the earliest example in English of the modern étude, or monograph in miniature."

³ John Moultrie's *Poems* (1876) contains a verse tribute to Macaulay as a critic of literature.

The change in attitude is suggested by what the *American Whig Review* for May, 1849, admired in the *Byron*: "One of the clearest passages in Mr. Macaulay's Essays is in the article on Moore's Life of Byron where he unfolds the distinction between truth to nature and mere concreteness in works of art. . . . Perhaps no one passage has been oftener referred to as evincing the author's great powers of thought and expression." There has been a change here; few things in Macaulay have been more completely forgotten than this passage. In 1853 *Chambers' Repository* remarked: "Macaulay's contributions to literature belong to the departments of criticism, poetry, and history, and upon all of them is the stamp and seal of excellence." *Bentley's Miscellany* in June, 1855, referring to Macaulay's criticism as well as to his other writings, explained his popularity in a way that would have ironically pleased Matthew Arnold: "In the fabric of Mr. Macaulay's mind, the staple element is of a peculiarly English sort. He has in marked degree the national sagacity, self-respect, nerve, independence, and judgment at once cool and reserved." Four years later *Chambers' Repository* analyzed further: "The things that interest him most are the great strokes of character, the subtle graces of art and movement, that cannot be imitated or repeated, the beauty and the glory that is shed from the presence of exalted intellects."⁴

This last quotation is largely nonsense, but it shows well enough the feelings that Macaulay inspired. After his death, however, the majority of estimates of Macaulay's literary criticism are more exacting. "His critical creed," says *Fraser's* for October, 1860, "was marked by . . . narrowness. He considered Samuel Rogers a greater singer than Samuel Coleridge. He relished the exquisite refinement of the *Italy*, and he respected a writer, who was at once a finished gentleman and a fastidious poet. . . . Nay, perhaps he was altogether incapable of understanding the vague and fitful feelings . . . which give a peculiar charm to the muse of Shelley and Tennyson."⁵ Nevertheless, Macaulay is still showered with sugar-plums. "The Essays," says one magazine a few years later, "are of their kind superb; and they promise to live as long as the English language. They have influenced the style of English writers more, perhaps, than the writings of any man of our

⁴ *Chambers' Repository*, 1859.

⁵ "The great faculties of Macaulay's mind were memory and imagination." *The London Examiner*, January 7, 1860.

time, except Sir Walter Scott and Charles Dickens.”⁶ And Henry Curwen writes in 1873: “The most remarkable collection of essays ever published in this or any other country.”⁷

Such perfervid tributes may be heard even to-day, but as literary criticism developed in the latter half of the century the great faults of Macaulay emerged. A reviewer says, in 1874: “Macaulay, indeed, was always noted for his hard, dogmatic belief in his own infallibility, and the sledge-hammer violence with which he rebuked a literary man, as if it had been a moral error. This weakness almost approaches the character of a moral blot, an intellectual fault; this tendency to scornful encounter, to the use of rough and rude language.”⁸ From this time on these weaknesses are emphasized. John Morley, writing for the *Fortnightly Review* of April, 1876, notes: “The most interesting English critics of the generation slightly anterior to Macaulay — Hazlitt, Lamb, De Quincey, Leigh Hunt — were fully his equals in precision, and yet they knew how to be clear, acute, and definite, without that edginess and inelasticity which is so conspicuous in Macaulay’s criticisms.”⁹ And in the same year we read this: “It has been observed that neither in art nor letters did Macaulay display that faculty of the higher criticism, which depends upon certain refined perceptions and the power of subtle analysis. His analysis was always rough, hasty, and sweeping, and his perceptions robust. . . . Neither had he patience for the accurate collection of minute particulars of evidence, to disentangle an intricate controversy and by the recovery of the thread to bring out the truth.”¹⁰

This is practically the final verdict. The *Nation* of May 25, 1876, declares him “deficient in analytical power.” But certain other later judgments on Macaulay as a critic of literature are worth remark.¹¹ Frederick Harrison, in the *Forum* for September, 1894, admitted that Macaulay’s critical opinions were generally sound, but said they were clothed in exaggerated language. The *North American Review* for December, 1909, has the following:

⁶ The *Living Age*, November 5, 1870.

⁷ A *History of Booksellers*, p. 105.

⁸ The *Living Age*, August 8, 1874.

⁹ See also: *Critical Miscellanies*, Second Series, p. 391. “The spirit of analysis,” says Morley, “is not in him, and the divine spirit of meditation is not in him.” *Ibid.*, p. 378. See also *Fraser’s Magazine*, February, 1881.

¹⁰ The *Living Age*, August 26, 1876.

¹¹ One of the best of these is Thomas Hardy’s account of Macaulay in the *Cornhill Magazine* for May, 1876.

"A critic who never dissected his emotion, who, in fact, avoided doing so, in order not to spoil the spontaneity of his enjoyment, could have no message for the new school which had chosen analysis for its vocation."¹² Emerson¹³ and Poe¹⁴ both note his materialistic bias. And Carlyle grows: "Ambitious, too antithetic; the heart of the matter not struck. What will that man become? He has more force and emphasis in him than any other of my British contemporaries (coevals). Wants the roots of belief, however. May fail to accomplish much. Let us hope better things."¹⁵ The flagellation Macaulay received at the hands of Matthew Arnold is well-known.¹⁶

Such evaluation of Macaulay's criticism has been based, and rightly so, on Macaulay's formal essays. So men of letters must be judged. But there remains a vast amount of critical comment by Macaulay on literature which has never been gathered together in definite form. To outline the nature of this material is the purpose of this paper. Macaulay's prodigious knowledge of books prompted him to write opinions of whatever he happened to be reading. His letters are crammed with pithy observations on hundreds of books,¹⁷ from the plays of Euripides to the novels of Theodore Hook.¹⁸ Not only this; Macaulay habitually wrote in the margins of his books replies to their authors.¹⁹ In addition, the *History of England* contains incidental literary criticism which merits attention. Taken altogether this body of informal literary criticism is large. And when Macaulay is finally measured as a critic of literature, these *obiter dicta* must be considered.

To understand fully the nature and extent of these private judgments two facts about Macaulay's mind should be remembered. The first is his infinite capacity for reading; the second is his memory. Eloquent proof of his wide reading is found in his

¹² Macaulay confided to Napier that he lacked the power of critical analysis. See *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, pp. 15-16.

¹³ *English Traits*, p. 247.

¹⁴ *Works of E. A. Poe*, ed. Stone and Kimball, "Macaulay's Essays," Vol. VII, p. 123.

¹⁵ *Journal*, November 1, 1833.

¹⁶ It will be remembered that Arnold called Macaulay a "Prince of Philistines" and "an honest rhetorician." See *Mixed Essays*, "A French Critic on Milton."

¹⁷ See the *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1876.

¹⁸ *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, p. 44. Hook is described as "a clever, coarse, vulgar writer."

¹⁹ See *The Marginal Notes of Lord Macaulay*, Selected by G. O. Trevelyan, *passim*.

"reading lists" which he was always suggesting, *currente calamo*. His list of prize books follows: "Bacon's 'Essays,' Hume's 'England,' Gibbon's 'Rome,' Robertson's 'Charles V,' Robertson's 'Scotland,' Robertson's 'America,' Swift's 'Gulliver,' 'Robinson Crusoe,' 'Shakespeare's Works,' 'Paradise Lost,' Milton's smaller poems, 'Arabian Nights,' Park's 'Travels,' Anson's 'Voyage,' the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' Johnson's 'Lives,' 'Gil Blas,' Voltaire's 'Charles XII,' Southey's 'Nelson,' Middleton's 'Life of Cicero.' " ²⁰ Macaulay plundered all literatures. The list of books made for his voyage to India suggests this: "Richardson, Voltaire's works, Gibbon, Sismondi's 'History of the French,' 'Davila,' 'The Orlando' in Italian, 'Don Quixote' in Spanish, Homer in Greek, Horace in Latin. I must also," he adds, "have some books of jurisprudence, and some to initiate me in Persian and Hindoo-stanee." ²¹ His German library, he says, "consists of all Goethe's works, all Schiller's works, Müller's 'History of Switzerland,' some of Tieck, some of Lessing, and other works of less fame. I hope to dispatch them all on my way home." ²²

One curious aspect of Macaulay's reading was indiscriminating taste. He read the worst novels of the day at the same moment that he was reading the Greek poets. Thus in 1854 he notes in his *Journal*: "Read: 'Welstead's Life and Remains'; mostly trash. At dinner the 'Love Match.' In the evening Jesse's 'Selwyn Correspondence,' Skelton's 'Deism Revealed,' and a great deal of Bolingbroke's stupid infidelity." ²³ On November 20, 1848, the following entry occurs: "Read Pepys at breakfast, and then sat down to Herodotus, and finished 'Melpomene' at a sitting. . . . Came home, and read 'Terpsichore,' and began 'Erato.'" ²⁴ There are delightful letters in Trevelyan's collections in which Macaulay and his sisters discuss the last novel, say of Mrs. Meek. "He was," says Morison, in his *Macaulay*, "constantly reading worthless novels which he despised." ²⁵ Once he is shocked himself, and exclaims: "Why do I read such trash?" ²⁶

²⁰ *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. I, p. 361.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 131; Vol. I, p. 315; Vol. I, pp. 329, 338.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 407.

²³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 322.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 214.

²⁵ P. 25.

²⁶ *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. I, pp. 234, 260, 269, 272; Vol. II, pp. 45, 173 (*Lord Carlisle's Journal*), 210. See also J. C. Morison, *Macaulay*, p. 25, and *The Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay*, July 21, 1815.

Macaulay was well-equipped for criticism. "There was," says Lord Campbell, "no department of literature in which he did not quote largely and appropriately—from the Greek and Latin Fathers, to the last numbers of *Punch*, and the *Times*."²⁷ His memory, then, with his reading gave him an important requisite of a critic, knowledge. Of this "portentous memory,"²⁸ as Hardy calls it, much has been written. His ability to repeat *Paradise Lost* entire, or *Clarissa Harlowe* are well-known instances. The passage in the *Greville Memoirs* is less familiar, and more indicative of his power: "If ever Macaulay's life was written by a competent biographer, it would appear that he had displayed feats of memory . . . unequalled by any human being. He can repeat all Demosthenes by heart, and all Milton, a great part of the Bible, both in English and (the New Testament) in Greek; besides this his memory retains passages innumerable of every description of books which in discussion he pours forth with incredible facility."²⁹ "Anything," writes Thomas Moore, "may be believed, so wonderful is his memory."³⁰

An essay of some proportions might be written about Macaulay's interest in classical literature.³¹ James Mill thought his knowledge of Greek literature more accurate and extensive than that of any contemporary. Trevelyan has a long account of Macaulay's studies in the classics, but many of his striking opinions must be picked up from the letters themselves. Macaulay renewed his researches in Greek in Calcutta in 1835. He writes: "During the last thirteen months I have read Aeschylus twice; Sophocles twice; Euripides once; Pindar twice; Callimachus; Apollonius Rhodius,"³² and so on, including a score of Greek and Latin writers. Some unusual opinions are given: he could not bear Euripides at college; he dislikes the character of Socrates; the seventh book of Thucydides is the greatest prose composition in the world; he admires Livy greatly; and he is interested in Cicero "prodigiously."³³ A letter to Trevelyan, among hundreds of other comments

²⁷ *Autobiography*, p. x.

²⁸ *Cornhill Magazine*, May, 1876.

²⁹ *Greville Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 337.

³⁰ *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, ed. John Russell, Vol. VII, p. 280.

³¹ For Trevelyan's analysis of Macaulay's attitude towards the classics see Vol. I, pp. 378-91.

³² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 389.

³³ For Macaulay's opinions of Cicero see *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 325, 244, and *The Marginal Notes of Lord Macaulay*, pp. 37-53.

on classical writers, shows Macaulay's preferences, as well as his habit of ranking, in whatever literature he was studying, its chief writers. Aeschylus is "not only a poet of the first order, but a great thinker. . . . I read Plato, one of the five first-rate Athenians. The other four are your friends Aeschylus and Thucydides, Sophocles and Demosthenes. I know of no sixth Athenian who can be added to the list. Certainly not Euripides, nor Xenophon, nor Isocrates, Aeschines. But I forgot Aristophanes. More shame for me. He makes six."³⁴

Macaulay's literary criticism of the classics furnishes confirmation of the bent of his mind. His interest is first in the historians, whose influence can be observed in his own work. "The truth is," he says, "that I admire no historian much except Herodotus, Thucydides, and Tacitus. I might add Fra Paolo."³⁵

There is the same interest in externals found in his formal criticisms. The question may be raised whether he ever understood the idealistic philosophy of Socrates or of Plato. This passage is a betrayal: "I am more and more convinced that the merit of Plato lies in his talent for narrative and description, in his rhetoric, in his humour, and in his exquisite Greek."³⁶ His rhetoric! No mention of the ideas that were to dominate European philosophical thought! This comment is consistent with the attitude towards Plato exhibited in the essay on *Bacon*. Indeed the astonishing fact revealed by a study of Macaulay's informal criticisms of the classics is the slight influence exerted by the deepest thought of the ancients upon his writings. The less extensive studies of Matthew Arnold produced more fermentation in that poet's thought than all this enormous reading upon the mind of Macaulay.

Somewhat similar is Macaulay's relation to continental literature. He produced the *Dante* and the *Petrarch*. But a penetration of his mind by the ideas of any single writer — such, for instance, as the influence of Goethe upon Carlyle — is lacking. Incidents, anecdotes, pageantry — these he took and used with prodigal allusion. He committed vast sections to memory. He contrasted Ariosto to Tasso and ranked Schiller as "the greatest

³⁴ *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, Vol. II, pp. 356-57.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 232, 215.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 324. The following is typical of Macaulay's criticism of the Greek drama: "The agony of Oedipus is so unutterable grand; and the tender sorrow, in which his mind at last reposes, after his daughters have been brought to him, is as moving as anything in the Greek drama." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 414-15. See also *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 304, and note.

critic."³⁷ But he absorbed none of these. He never really analyzed them. Yet his appreciations are worth notice, and, of course, of broad sweep. "No other country," he says of France, "could produce a tragic poet equal to Racine, a comic poet equal to Moliere,³⁸ a trifler so agreeable as La Fontaine, a rhetorician so skillful as Bossuet."³⁹ He hates Rousseau;⁴⁰ he admires Voltaire,⁴¹ with reservations; he finds Madame de Staël "the first woman of her age;"⁴² he has little use for Boileau.⁴³ Macaulay had mastered German literature. Thomas Moore speaks of his unusual view of Goethe,⁴⁴ "as being totally devoid of moral sense as well as of real feeling; his characters therefore are mere abstractions, having nothing of the man in them, and, in this respect, so unlike Schiller's."⁴⁵ Of Schiller Macaulay writes his niece, Margaret, as follows: "Tell me how do you like Schiller's 'Mary Stuart.' It is not one of my favourite pieces. I should put it fourth among his plays. I arrange them thus: 'Wallenstein,' 'William Tell,' 'Don Carlos,' 'Mary Stuart,' the 'Maid of Orleans.' At a great interval comes the 'Bride of Messina;' and then, at another great interval, 'Fieschi.' 'Cabel and Love' I never could get through. 'The Robbers' is a mere school-boy rant, below serious criticism, but not without indication of mental vigor which required to be disciplined by much thought and study."⁴⁶

Macaulay read widely in Italian and Spanish literature. When fifteen he was fond of comparing Chaucer and Boccaccio, with preference for the latter.⁴⁷ There is a discussion of the plays of Machiavelli in the essay of that name.⁴⁸ Manzoni he read with

³⁷ *The Correspondence of Sir William Napier*. G. H. Lewes to Sir William Napier, May 31, 1844.

³⁸ See *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, pp. 130, 173.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 386.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 235.

⁴¹ Macaulay wrote a poem on Voltaire. See *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 136, and Vol. II, p. 91, note.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 218.

⁴³ See *History of England*, Vol. V, p. 228.

⁴⁴ See *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, p. 252.

⁴⁵ *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, ed. John Russell, Vol. VII, p. 280.

⁴⁶ *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, p. 182.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 65.

⁴⁸ *Critical and Historical Essays*, "Machiavelli," pp. 89 ff. In this essay Macaulay says: "The Divine Comedy [is] beyond comparison the greatest work of imagination which has appeared since the poems of Homer."

tears. His letters are filled with praise of Dante. "I am going through 'Don Quixote' again," he wrote his sister, Hannah, "and admire it more than ever. It is certainly the best novel in the world, beyond all comparison."⁴⁹ He promises his sisters that he will carry his "conquests far and deep into Spanish literature."⁵⁰ He learns Portuguese in order to read the *Lusiad*, but is disappointed in Camoens.⁵¹

After all, Macaulay, an invincible believer in everything English, read and criticized most in English literature. In pre-Shakespearean literature he had little interest. He did not care greatly for Chaucer and thought Spenser a bore. His naïveté in criticism is never more evident than in his attitude towards Shakespeare. He learned *The Merchant of Venice*⁵² by heart, wept over *King John*,⁵³ but he left us no real contribution to Shakespearian criticism. His finest utterances are those on *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Coriolanus*, available now in Trevelyan's collection of marginal notes.⁵⁴ In the letters his Shakespearean criticism consists mainly of ranking various plays. Lord Carlisle says of Macaulay's preferences: "He thinks the first part of 'Henry the Fourth' Shakespeare's best comic play; then the second part; then 'Twelfth Night'; but Shakespeare's plays are not to be classed into Tragedy and Comedy."⁵⁵ Macaulay ranked the best plays as follows: *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*.

Of other Elizabethan dramatists Macaulay says little except Ben Jonson who is discussed in certain of the essays, notably *Madame D'Arblay*. Bacon is disposed of in the famous essay rather finally; comparatively little is said of him in the letters and diary.⁵⁶ But the *Milton* is supplemented by many comments. According to Lord Carlisle, Macaulay ranked Milton fourth among all poets,⁵⁷ and in one place he compares him favorably to Aeschylus.

⁴⁹ *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. I, p. 296.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 232.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 337.

⁵² *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, p. 377. Macaulay writes in 1857: "I walked in the portico, and learned by heart the fourth act of the 'Merchant of Venice.'"

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 254; Vol. II, p. 91, note.

⁵⁴ See *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 255, and G. O. Trevelyan, *Selections from the Marginal Notes of Lord Macaulay*, pp. 16-37.

⁵⁵ *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, pp. 175 ff.

⁵⁶ See *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 396-97.

⁵⁷ Lord Carlisle's *Journal* has the following entry: "Breakfasted with

lus.⁵⁸ The most rhetorical tribute occurs in the *History of England*. Its style seems inflated to the bursting point, but when read in the context it is full of real feeling: "A mightier poet, tried at once by pain, danger, obloquy, and blindness, meditated undisturbed by the obscene tumult which rages all around him, a song so sublime and so holy that it would not have misbecome the lips of those ethereal virtues whom he saw, with that inner eye which no calamity could darken, flinging down on the jasper pavement their crowns of amaranth and gold."⁵⁹

Before we reach Macaulay's beloved eighteenth century a few names may be singled out from his preferences. One of these is Pepys whom he found "inexhaustible."⁶⁰ Another is Bunyan of whom Macaulay never seemed to weary, and whom he placed high: "He is indeed as decidedly the first of allegorists, as Demosthenes is the first of orators, or Shakespeare the first of dramatists. Other allegorists have shown equal ingenuity, but no other allegorist has been able to touch the heart, and to make abstractions objects of terror, of pity, and of love."⁶¹ Wycherley⁶² and his confrères Macaulay attacked in the essay. Another figure who interests him is Dryden; criticism of him overflows from the essay into the letters and history. In a passage which is a medley of comparative criticism Macaulay says: "I admire Dryden. But I do not think him a man of a creative mind. He had great fertility, great command of language, great skill in versification; but I do not think that he had, in the highest sense of the word, any originality. I do not dispute that his works are more valuable than those of Bunyan; but I do not think that they show so much creative power. I should say the same of Pope as compared with Defoe."⁶³ I allow that Pope's works are more valuable than Defoe's; but I

Macaulay. He thinks that, though the last eight books of 'Paradise Lost' contain incomparable beauties, Milton's fame would have stood higher if only the first four had been preserved. He would then have been placed above Homer." *Life and Letters of Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, p. 176. See *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 228.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 356. See also *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 122, note.

⁵⁹ *History of England*, Vol. I, p. 390.

⁶⁰ *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. I, p. 172.

⁶¹ *History of England*, Vol. II, pp. 876-78.

⁶² "Wycherley and the other good-for-nothing fellows whose indecorous wit Leigh Hunt has edited." *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, p. 74.

⁶³ Macaulay thought *Robinson Crusoe* "a union of luck with ability." Defoe "had undoubtedly a knack of making fiction look like truth. But is such a knack much to be admired?" *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 383.

think that Defoe had more originality, more native power of imagination than Pope."⁶⁴ This is good criticism, though there is the usual method of comparison and contrast. *Alexander's Feast* Macaulay thought the "noblest ode in our language,"⁶⁵ and *Absalom and Achitophel* "the greatest satire of modern times."⁶⁶

Macaulay moved and had his literary being in the eighteenth century. At least one-half of his literary criticism is concerned with this age. "Macaulay's youth," says Trevelyan, "was nourished upon Pope and Bolingbroke, and Atterbury, and Defoe. . . . He had Prior's burlesque verses and Arbuthnot's pasquinades . . . completely at his fingers' ends."⁶⁷ Macaulay comments tersely upon nearly every writer of this period. A re-examination of the reading lists will indicate how much at home Macaulay was in the eighteenth century. He reads constantly in Sterne, Fielding, and Smollett.⁶⁸ Burke is the greatest man since Milton.⁶⁹ Miss Edgeworth is second only to Madame de Staël.⁷⁰ He "comforts" himself with Lord Campbell and reads Crabbe "with pleasure ever fresh."⁷¹ Swift and Addison are "the two keenest observers of their time."⁷² In this age is *Sir Charles Grandison* which he had read fifteen times.⁷³ In 1854 he writes: "Read some of Swift's 'Polite Conversations,' and Arbuthnot's 'John Bull.' One never wearies of these excellent pieces."⁷⁴ He also says a good deal, not wholly favorable, about Chesterfield's *Letters*.⁷⁵

If all of Macaulay's literary criticism, formal and informal, is

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 120.

⁶⁵ *History of England*, Vol. I, p. 392. See also *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 394: "As a satirist he rivalled Juvenal." See *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 2093 for Macaulay's comment on *Aurengzebe*.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 396.

⁶⁷ *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, p. 375.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 190.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 318.

⁷⁰ "Macaulay on one occasion pronounced that the scene in the 'Absentee' where Lord Colombe discovers himself to his tenantry and to his oppressor, is the best thing of the sort since the opening of the twenty-second book of the 'Odyssey!'" *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 206, note.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 351.

⁷² *History of England*, Vol. V, p. 2397.

⁷³ See also *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. I, p. 129.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 323. Macaulay's comparatively few dislikes in the eighteenth century included "the foolish Dr. Beattie," and Aphra Behn. See *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 216.

⁷⁵ Macaulay thought the success of the *Letters* due to Lord Chesterfield's social position. "They are," he said, "for the most part trash; though they contain some clever passages, and the style is not bad." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 286. See also *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 298.

considered as a whole, there can be little doubt that his standards were in the main those of the eighteenth century writers. They were objective; so was he. Their manner was clear, forcible, and pointed like his own. Their disregard of the unseen world of imagination and feeling were in general akin to his misunderstanding of the new romantic poetry. His favorite among the writers of novels was a woman who had few of the characteristics of a nineteenth century novelist. Jane Austen, it should be remembered, was born in 1775.⁷⁶ His history is filled with moral aphorisms of Addison. The essays on *Addison*,⁷⁷ *Madame D'Arblay*, and *Horace Walpole* prove his solid eighteenth century tastes. But possibly it needs the multitude of comments in the letters on the eighteenth century to bring the truth home to us.⁷⁸

The defect of this interest in the eighteenth century was Macaulay's indifference to or dislike of the new literature growing up around him. Trevelyan laments this. Macaulay's remarks on his contemporaries prove him blind to the way in which literature was changing, and they reveal, too, that innate defect of his as a critic. What he saw in literature was exterior; the inner values were hidden. One after another he scoffs at the minds which were to rank with or displace those of the eighteenth century. "What stuff," he writes of Coleridge, "some of his criticisms on style are!"⁷⁹ Wordsworth is guilty of "unutterable baseness and dirtiness."⁸⁰ In connection with a rustic incident he adds: "I should not like to have an execrably bad poem on the subject, such as Wordsworth would have written."⁸¹ Although he believed in

⁷⁶ Macaulay was devoted to Jane Austen. He compared her to Shakespeare, and at one time planned to write a life of her. On May 27, 1851, he writes: "Home, and finished 'Persuasion.' I have now read over again all Miss Austin's [sic] novels. Charming they are; but I found a little more to criticize than formerly. Yet there are in the world no compositions which approach nearer to perfection." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 249. See also *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 316; Vol. II, p. 395.

⁷⁷ The *History of England* refers often to Addison and to Swift, and contains many quotations from eighteenth century writers, among them Arbuthnot. See Vol. III, p. 1346; Vol. VI, p. 2848; Vol. V, pp. 2405, 2469.

⁷⁸ Macaulay cared for few of the eighteenth century historians. He was shocked by Gibbon's heterodoxy: "He writes like a man who had received some personal injury from Christianity and wished to be revenged on it and all its professors." *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. II, p. 250. He thought Goldsmith's histories "miserable performances." See *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 360; Vol. II, p. 92. For his opinion of Smollett's history see *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 37.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 239. Macaulay was fond of *The Ancient Mariner*.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 377 ff.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 272. See also *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 83; Vol. II, p. 238 (*The Prelude*).

Byron's greatness, his chief interest in him was as a picturesque figure.⁸² "As to Carlyle, he might as well write in Irving's unknown tongue at once."⁸³ "The English poetry of the day," he wrote Ellis in 1836, "has very few charms for me. 'Van Artevelde' is far the best specimen that I have lately seen."⁸⁴ Perhaps it is not surprising that Macaulay liked the *Idylls of the King*.⁸⁵ He did not care for Scott,⁸⁶ and could not endure Newman⁸⁷—naturally. Dickens he liked with reservations.⁸⁸ On the whole I should say that he was equally impressed by Bulwer-Lytton.⁸⁹ Possibly all of Macaulay's blindness may be epitomized in this false estimate of Jeffrey: "Take him all in all, I think him more nearly a universal genius than any man of our time."⁹⁰

Macaulay's reading and his informal literary criticism thus demonstrate more clearly than the formal essays his bias and idiosyncrasies as a critic of literature; more clearly because they are outspoken. They exhibit, too, even more than the essays, his range of reading and the multiphases of his literary interests. They show him constantly comparing, contrasting, testing literature by a knowledge that Mark Pattison described as "imperial." But, more than all, they add definitely to the body of his criticism. There is nothing, for example, in the essay on *Dryden* so good as the passage on the poet quoted from the letters. Macaulay was not a great analyst, but he said many fine things about literature. And many of them are in his informal criticisms.

⁸² Macaulay disapproved of Byron as a critic: "On the drama Lord Byron wrote more nonsense than on any other subject. He wanted to have restored the unities. His practice proved as unsuccessful as his theory was absurd. His admiration of the 'Mysterious Mother' was of a piece with his thinking Gifford and Rogers greater poets than Wordsworth and Coleridge." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 298. Macaulay's own admiration of Coleridge and Wordsworth was qualified. It has been said that he himself preferred Samuel Rogers to Samuel Coleridge.

⁸³ *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. I, p. 122.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 395.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 398.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 15, 390.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 244.

⁸⁸ Macaulay once said that Dickens was "both a man of genius and a good-hearted man, in spite of some faults of taste." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 218; Vol. II, pp. 44, 106, 186, 320, 403.

⁸⁹ Macaulay disliked Lord Lytton personally, though rather fond of his novels. "The less we have to do with each other, the better." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 242-43, 245.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 134. For Macaulay's criticisms of Southey see *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 134; Vol. II, pp. 120, 225, 249, 387-88. Of Thackeray, Vol. II, p. 233. Of Hunt, Vol. II, p. 93.

LE SUICIDE DANS LE DRAME FRANÇAIS CONTEMPORAIN

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M. René Doumic remarquait en 1905 qu'une épidémie de suicide s'abattait sur le théâtre français.¹ Depuis lors le suicide est demeuré dans la place qu'il a conquise dans les principaux théâtres de Paris. Il semble que les dramastistes aient pris à tâche de bien faire voir que, selon le mot de Dumas fils, quand on souffre trop on se tue. Jeune ou vieux, riche ou sage, quand rien ne va plus on se fait sauter; il n'est pas jusqu'à Don Juan, sur la vieillesse duquel nous avons pu compter jusqu'ici, qui lui aussi ne se réfugie dans la mort. Quand ce n'est pas un suicide, c'est une tentative, ou bien une menace de suicide; le spectateur inquiet se demande lesquels des personnages verront la fin de la soirée.

Dans une cinquantaine de pièces des vingt dernières années le suicide fait les frais du dénouement. Ce sont ces pièces que nous proposons d'examiner. Elles peuvent se diviser en deux catégories, celles qui se terminent sur un suicide, et celles dont le dénouement est amené par une menace de suicide.

Nous trouvons là tout le répertoire du roman-feuilleton. Ce sont amants déçus, joueurs décavés, gentilshommes ruinés, viveurs à bout de ressources, malheureux de tous genres, détraqués de toutes sortes, qui se tuent ou parlent de se tuer.² Nous trouvons aussi dans de fines intrigues des crayons de maître. Analysons quelques-unes des meilleures oeuvres de ce théâtre.

* * *

Le héros du *Caducée* de M. André Pascal, le docteur Revard, est un chirurgien de talent, mais un homme d'une ambition immodérée.

¹ *Le Théâtre Nouveau*.

² *La Danse devant le miroir*, François de Curel; *Le Maître de son cœur*, Paul Raynal; *Comédiantes*, Maurice Magre; *La Maison sous l'orage*, Emile Fabre; *Le Secret*, Henry Bernstein; *Match de Boxe*, Marcel Fabre et Henry Dupuy-Mazuel; *Le Marchand d'estampes*, George de Porto-Riche; *Marie-Victoire*, Edmond Guiraud; *Blanche Cécile*, Pierre Frondaie; *La Rampe*, Henri de Rothschild; *Le Professeur Klenow*, Mme. Karen Bramson; *Vautrin*, Edmond Guiraud; etc..

La réclame qu'il fait lui coûte beaucoup. Pour se procurer de l'argent, il fait une opération inutile. La malade meurt, et une enquête a lieu. Revard est pris ; il se tue.

Dans *Une Danseuse est morte* de M. Le Bary le personnage principal, Barsanges, est un homme d'une cinquantaine d'années, un caractère d'élite. Il s'est fourvoyé dans une aventure, et dans un moment d'erreur il tue une femme. Le jeune Fred est accusé du crime. Le premier mouvement de Barsanges est de se dénoncer ; mais il devient fou. A sa sortie de la maison de santé il apprend que Fred a été acquitté. Convaincu qu'il doit expier sa faute, Barsanges en écrit l'aveu qu'il remet à Fred. Il propose de se châtier en soignant les lépreux d'Asie. Fred, qui veut avant tout sa réhabilitation à lui, aime mieux livrer le coupable à la justice. Barsanges se tue.

Après avoir pesé les conséquences de ce qu'elle va faire, une jeune fille se laisse enlever par un homme marié. Elle a compté sans un frère qu'elle a. Pour mettre fin à des scandales où la vie de son amant est menacée, elle se tue. C'est *la Vierge Folle* d'Henry Bataille.

Jean est devenu fou à la suite d'un chagrin d'amour. On tente de le guérir en mettant près de lui la femme qu'il aimait. Jean retrouve sa raison et son amour pour Nelly. Mais René, le frère de Jean, est lui aussi amoureux de Nelly. René dit à son frère que leur compagne n'est pas la Nelly que Jean a connue. C'est, dit-il, une jeune fille du même nom qui s'est prêté à un stratagème pour guérir Jean. Alors, Jean est moins guéri qu'il n'a cru, puisqu'il a pu confondre les deux femmes. Jean se tue. C'est *le Pêcheur d'Ombres* de M. Jean Sarment.

Une autre pièce de Bataille, le *Phalène*. Une jeune artiste, douée, riche, fiancée, est condamnée par les médecins. Elle touchait au bonheur. Ce sera bientôt la déchéance physique et la mort. Elle rompt ses fiançailles, abandonne sa carrière, cherche dans la débauche une consolation qu'elle ne trouve pas, devient la maîtresse de son fiancé, et, redoutant pour son amour les dernières atteintes de son mal, elle se tue.

Fortier soupçonne sa femme et son ami Verneuil. Pour savoir, il dit à Verneuil qu'il va se battre. Il pourrait, dit-il, abattre son ennemi comme on abat une bête malfaisante ; mais il lui donnera la chance du duel. Cela est dit d'un ton qui désigne l'adversaire. Verneuil se tue. (*Le Voile déchiré*, Pierre Wolff.)

Les journaux parlent souvent de gens qui ont quelque peine à se tuer; il arrive qu'ils se ratent. Au théâtre on ne se rate pas. La vie y est d'une fragilité à toute épreuve; un poison est foudroyant, une balle fait sauter la cervelle, une ceinture de culotte étrangle fort bien son homme. Tout secours serait inutile. Un homme qui a voulu mourir est un homme mort.

Il convient d'admirer quel hasard favorise l'exécution d'un suicide. Barsanges dit à Fred: je ne veux pas que vous vous tuiez; donnez-moi votre revolver. Et un instant plus tard quand Barsanges lui-même veut se tuer, voilà une arme toute trouvée. Le fou du *Pêcheur d'Ombres* a constamment sur lui un vieux pistolet avec lequel il tire ses poissons. Il se peut cependant que, pris au dépourvu, l'on n'ait pas sur soi de quoi se tuer. Les moins ingénieux se tirent parfaitement d'affaire. Une jeune fille dit à son frère: dépose ton revolver sur cette table; et un moment après, comme elle a besoin d'une arme pour se tuer, elle n'a qu'à prendre le revolver qui est sur la table.³ Un homme décide-t-il d'en finir avec la vie; il est justement près de la mer, à l'heure où monte la marée.⁴ Un désespéré cherche des gants, et trouve un revolver.⁵ Un homme se débat entre l'exaltation et le remords; il a une détermination subite, et son regard tombe sur le parapet de la Seine.⁶

Le suicide du denouement n'est past un coup de théâtre. On le voit venir. Le personnage a déjà songé au suicide; il a peut-être tenté de se suicider; ou bien nous est-il donné pour victime d'un atavisme auquel on n'échappe pas. Et puis certains mots qu'il dit à peine, un geste vite conquis, font que l'auditoire comprend ce qui va se passer. Son émotion n'en est que plus fine. „Oh! au dernier acte, quand le banquier prend son revolver et sort . . . On attend . . . on attend la détonation! . . . c'est angoissant! . . . et puis! Pan! . . . j'adore ça.,”

„La mort ne paye pas les créanciers, disait un personnage de Dumas fils, mais elle excuse un peu et elle châtie les débiteurs.,” „Mes responsabilités cessent avec ma solvabilité,, voilà comment pense actuellement sur la scène le millionnaire déchu.” Voilà comment pensent au fond d'eux-mêmes les déchus de toutes

³ *La Vierge folle.*

⁴ *Le Masque de l'amour.*

⁵ *La Tendresse*, Henry Bataille.

⁶ *Le Marchand d'estampes.*

⁷ *Le Vertige*, Charles Méré.

⁸ *Les Requins*, Dario Niccodemi.

les sortes qui se détruisent au théâtre. Ils parlent de famille, de parti à qui il faut épargner le contre-coup de poursuites judiciaires; leur mort est une mort égoïste. C'est un moyen d'échapper à la misère morale ou matérielle; ce n'est pas un acte d'expiation.

Le docteur Revard rend un service à l'humanité en étudiant sur lui-même les effets d'un poison; mais après tout ce misérable se tue parce qu'il est traqué. Barsanges parle d'expiation; puis il ajoute: „Je suis si las de la lutte, . . . que j'accepte [la mort] comme une délivrance.,, D'abord ils brandissent tous leur calice. Ils s'entraînent. Mais, la décision prise, quand ils sont tout près de la mort, ils ne cachent rien. „Je vais me châtier . . .—„Tu n'es pas un criminel . . .—„Coupable ou non, je me suis condamné.,,—„Es-tu certain que ton suicide résoudra les choses? Ne comprends-tu pas que toi mort, je serai cent fois plus misérable!,,—„Il y aura tout de même un malheureux de moins.,,°

* * *

Le personnage principal du *Tribun* de M. Paul Bourget, Portal, Ministre de la Justice, est un leader incorruptible. Tout le monde le dit autour de lui. Il dit lui-même: „Que ma femme ou mon fils commît une action que je jugerais condamnable; vous me verriez les exécuter.,, L'occasion se présente à lui d'exécuter son fils. Celui-ci commet une escroquerie qui compromet Portal et démolit tout un programme de politique. Portal n'hésite pas. „Il n'y a que la justice, dit-il à son fils. Et je vais la faire . . . Tu seras arrêté dans un quart d'heure.,, Toute supplication est vaine. Mais le jeune homme demande: „Faut-il que je me tue?, et tous les principes de Portal s'écroulent.

Dans *l'Aventurier* de M. Alfred Capus, c'est un spéculateur malheureux qui a décidé de se tuer. Ses préparatifs sont découverts. On fait appel à un cousin. Celui-ci refuse son secours. Il a trimé en Afrique pour gagner sa fortune, il n'entend pas la mettre dans les mains d'un joueur; peu lui importe qu'un petit parent qu'il connaît à peine retourne à la terre. Mais le banqueroutier va monter à sa chambre. On l'arrête, on lui crie: „Tu ne monteras pas chez toi! . . . Tu as la figure décomposée. . . . Alors, tu allais te tuer . . . „ Devant cette figure de l'homme qui allait se tuer, le cousin d'Afrique se découvre des trésors de sentiment.

Pour sauver son beau-frère, Philippe d'Estal, qui se meurt de

° *Le Marchand d'estampes.*

neurasthénie, le docteur Richard Lemas lui fait épouser une femme que lui Richard a aimée sans qu'elle en ait jamais rien su. Bientôt des querelles assombrissent le bonheur du nouveau ménage. Puis c'est la rupture. Dans le désarroi Richard n'a pas su cacher son vieil amour. M^{me} d'Estal lui offre de partir avec lui. Il accepte. Les supplications de Philippe repentant, l'intervention d'un ami, rien n'y fait. Alors Philippe déclare que si on lui prend sa femme, il se tuera ; et il n'est pas difficile de voir qu'il a sur lui un revolver. Richard partira seul.¹⁰

Comme il va être ministre, et qu'il trouve à sa maîtresse peu de goût pour la politique, Rantz rompt avec Liane. La pauvre femme est désespérée. Son fils va trouver Rantz. La tâche est difficile, l'ambassadeur est maladroit. Prières et menaces ayant échoué, le jeune homme demande qu'on ne laisse pas mourir sa mère, qui a déjà une fois essayé de se tuer. Rantz a pâli. Venez, dit-il au fils de Liane.¹¹

* * *

On rit de la menace de suicide ; mais on cède devant elle.

Bagel. Philippe m'a déclaré que, si M^{me} d'Estal quittait cette maison, il se tuerait immédiatement.

Richard. Ah ! naturellement, j'aurais dû m'y attendre ! C'est le chantage au suicide !¹⁰

Toujours est-il que Richard n'ose pas affronter ce chantage. Comment douter en effet que, mis à même de le faire, Philippe n'exécute sa menace. Il a un revolver dans sa poche.

Il arrive qu'une simple menace ne suffise pas. Dans ce cas une tentative de suicide est de jeu. Dans le *Souffle du désordre* de M. Fauré-Frémier il y a conflit entre un père et son fils. Tout porte à croire que le jeune Marcel songe à se tuer. Néanmoins le père est ferme. Marcel se jette dans les rones d'une charrette. La charrette égratigne la tête du gamin et broie la volonté du père.

Il y a un moyen moins coûteux. C'est de répéter la menace jusqu'à ce qu'elle fasse effet.

Et enfin la menace devient un cri si désespéré qu'Henriette comprend.

¹⁰ *Vouloir*, M. Gustave Guiches.

¹¹ *L'Enfant de l'amour*, H. Bataille.

Gabrielle. Henriette, si tu me dénonces, je me tue.

Henriette. Oh ! mais tant pis !

Gabrielle. Je me tuerai.¹²

¹² *Le Secret*.

La menace de suicide est un coup de théâtre. C'est une massue qui assomme les plus forts. Sous le souffle de la formule : je me tue, le père rigoureux, l'amant cruel, l'ennemi, l'indifférent s'effondre, et la pièce aussi.

* * *

Le dramatisse revendique le droit de mettre le suicide sur la scène, le suicide étant dans la réalité. Il arrive en effet qu'on prenne la vie comme une partie de cartes, et qu'on se fasse sauter quand on a perdu. C'est même une excellente façon d'échapper au résultat des folies qu'on a faites. Mais à la pièce de théâtre il faut ce résultat. Une pièce de théâtre est un problème que l'auteur examine et dont il promet une solution. Pour que le suicide soit un dénouement, il faut qu'il se laisse solliciter des données du drame. Quand un personnage s'est tué afin de se tirer d'embarras, nous nous demandons si du même coup il n'a pas tiré d'embarras l'auteur de la pièce.

Il doit être aisé de combiner des noeuds gordiens si l'on sait d'avance qu'il suffira de les trancher. Prenons par exemple *la Brebis perdue* de M. Octave Trarieux. La pièce est tirée du *Curé de village* de Balzac. Mais M. Trarieux crée une situation qui n'est pas dans Balzac. Dans la pièce Véronique veut se dénoncer comme la complice de Tascheron et essayer d'obtenir ainsi la grâce du condamné. Pendant que les amis de Véronique délibèrent sur ce qu'il y a lieu de faire, on leur apprend que Tascheron vient de se suicider. Ce dernier fait non plus n'est pas dans Balzac. La pièce de M. Trarieux a un moment d'un tragique auquel n'atteint pas le roman de Balzac ; mais alors que le romancier fait bravement son récit jusqu'au bout, le dramatisse s'esquive quand nous avons justement le plus besoin de lui.

Il faut bien reconnaître que la menace de suicide est un moyen de chantage qui a sa valeur. Nous hésitons à pousser à bout un homme qui parle de mourir. Il semble néanmoins que cette menace, comme toutes les menaces, peut avoir des circonstances atténuantes. Si elle abat comme un château de cartes tout l'échafaudage d'une pièce, l'on se demande si l'auteur ne s'est pas laissé trop facilement impressionner. Si elle résout des difficultés l'on cherche à qui la trouvaille profite le plus.

L'auteur se met de la partie pour faire porter la menace. Les indications qu'il donne montrent assez qu'il n'est pas de sang-froid.

Au mot de suicide, nous dit-il, Rantz a un hoquet brusque; Portal reçoit le coup en pleine poitrine. C'est un spectacle si horrible que l'auteur oublie où il en était, et laisse tomber son homme. „Quand mon fils m'a dit; Faut-il que je me tue? c'est comme s'il m'avait crié au secours! je suis ton fils, tu dois me sauver car c'est toi qui m'as fait!,, (*Le Tribun*). Et l'auteur a l'air de nous dire: Quel père résisterait à ce cri! Mais, Portal, Monsieur, le Portal de toute la première partie de votre pièce. M^{me} Portal a crié: „Tu ne peux pas envoyer ton fils en prison.,, Le jeune homme lui-même, avant que ce beau désespoir le secourût, a montré sa détresse. Portal n'a pas bronché. Ce Portal ferait écrouer son voleur en priant qu'on le surveillât bien.

* * *

Le dénouement sous une menace de suicide fait virer la pièce; le dénouement par un suicide en supprime la solution. Ce sont, sous leurs allures d'apothéose, des conclusions arbitraires.

SHAKESPEARE AND KEATS'S *HYPERION*

A STUDY IN THE PROCESSES OF POETICAL COMPOSITION

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It has become a commonplace in criticism that Keats derived the inspiration, the style, and the subject matter of his poetry from the great Elizabethan masters of his art; but it is not universally admitted that of all his Elizabethan masters Keats is most indebted to Shakespeare. It is still the custom of critics to agree with Mr. W. T. Arnold¹ "that Shakespeare moulded Keats's mind as the English landscape moulded it but (that) there is hardly any direct imitation or adaptation of Shakespeare in detail." Sir Sidney Colvin,² Mr. Harry Buxton Forman,³ and Mr. Ernest de Sélincourt⁴ have proved the incorrectness of this judgment by pointing out many instances of Keats's indebtedness to Shakespeare; but they follow the general custom of emphasizing Keats's indebtedness to Spenser and Milton at the expense of his greater indebtedness to Shakespeare.

I have found that Shakespeare exercised a paramount influence upon the substance — phraseology, imagery, ideas, and facts of information — of all of Keats's poetry. In Keats's dramas, *Otho the Great* and the incomplete *King Stephen*, Shakespeare's influence is dominant both in style and in substance. Even in the substance of those poems in which Keats is consciously imitating the style of a temporary master the influence of Shakespeare continues to be most significant. In this respect *Hyperion* offers an interesting study: its style and scope is Miltonic but its substance is essentially Shakespearean.

My analysis of the influence of Shakespeare upon Keats's *Hyperion* is in reality a study in the processes of poetical composition;

¹ W. T. Arnold, *The Poetical Works of John Keats*, London, 1884, p. xxxviii.

² Sir Sidney Colvin, *John Keats*, N. Y., 1917.

³ H. B. Forman, *The Complete Works of John Keats*, 5 Vols., Glasgow, 1900.

⁴ Ernest de Sélincourt, *The Poems of John Keats*, N. Y., 1921.

for an analysis of the sources of poetry, if rightly pursued, introduces the critic into the poetical laboratory of the poet's mind, where he can observe the processes by which the infinite materials with which the poet's mind is stored are subjected to the transmutative action of the poet's imagination and distilled into the pure essence of poetry.

In Keats's poetical imagery is found the most important evidence of his indebtedness to Shakespeare. Keats is justly regarded as the most sensuous poet in the whole range of English literature; and as such he naturally took most delight in the sensuous qualities in the poetry of his literary masters. All men, of course, though in varying degrees of intensity, experience sensations; but it is only the supremely sensuous man who is as keenly affected by reading the recorded sensations of other men as by his own physical sensations. That Keats was deeply influenced by the imagery of Shakespeare is proved by the published recollections of his friends, by the evidence of his own letters, and by an analysis of his poetry. In his recollections of the boyhood of Keats, Charles Cowden Clarke⁵ observes:

It was a treat to see as well as hear him read a pathetic passage. Once, when reading *Cymbeline* aloud, I saw his eyes fill with tears, and his voice faltered when he came to the departure of Posthumus, and Imogen saying she would have watched him—

“Till the diminution
Of space had pointed him sharp as my needle;
Nay followed him till he had melted from
The smallness of a gnat to air; and then
Have turn'd mine eyes and wept.”

Clarke probably italicized the words, “melted from The smallness of a gnat to air,” because their imagery especially impressed Keats's imagination. In his letters Keats⁶ himself expresses his delight in the rich imagery of Shakespeare:

One of the three books I have with me is Shakespeare's Poems. I have never found so many beauties in the sonnets—they seem to be full of fine things said unintentionally—in the intensity of working out conceits. Is this to be borne? Hark ye!

“When lofty trees I see barren of leaves,
Which erst from heat did canopy the head,

⁵ C. C. Clarke, *Recollections of Writers*, London, 1878, p. 126.

⁶ H. E. Scudder, *The Complete Poetical Works and Letters of John Keats*, Cambridge Edition, Cambridge, 1899, p. 276.

And Summer's green all girded up in Sheaves,
Borne on the bier with white and bristly head."

He has left nothing to be said about nothing or anything: for look at snails—you know what he says about Snails—you know when he talks about "cockled snails"—well, in one of these sonnets, he says—the chap slips into—no! I lie! this is in the Venus and Adonis: the simile brought it to my mind.

"As the snail, whose tender horns being hit,
Shrinks back into his shelly cave with pain,
And there all smothered up in shade doth sit,
Long after fearing to put forth again;
So at his bloody view her eyes are fled,
Into the deep dark Cabins of her head."

He overwhelms a genuine Lover of poesy with all manner of Abuse, talking about—

"a poet's rage
And the stretched metre of an antique song,"

Which by the bye will be a capital motto for my poem, won't it? He speaks too of "Time's antique pen"—and "April's first born flowers"—and "death's eternal cold."

Many other illustrations of Keats's delight in Shakespeare's imagery could be cited; but this passage is sufficient to suggest—what I shall attempt to prove by an analysis of *Hyperion*—that Keats's imagery was partly an expression of his imaginative reaction to the imagery of Shakespeare.

Keats not only derived from Shakespeare the inspiration of much of the imagery of his poetry, but he also found in Shakespeare's poetry a vast compendium of the facts of all knowledge—mythology, history, social manners and customs, philosophy, etc.—from which he felt free to draw the matter to which his own imaginative genius should give poetic form.

In the following passage on omens in *Hyperion* (I. 169-200) we have an illustration of the way in which Keats derived from Shakespeare the subject matter of his own poetry. In this passage Keats informs us that of all of the Titans Hyperion, the God of the Sun, alone maintains his rule, but that he is "unsecure":

For as among us mortals omens drear
Fright and perplex, so also shuddered he—
Not at dog's howl, or gloom-bird's hated screech,
Or the familiar visiting of one
Upon the first toll of his passing-bell,
Or prophesyings of the midnight lamp;

But horrors, portion'd to a giant nerve,
 Oft made Hyperion ache. His palace bright
 Bastion'd with pyramids of glowing gold,
 And touch'd with shade of bronzed obeliaks,
 Glar'd a blood-red through all its thousand courts,
 Arches, and domes, and fiery galleries; .
 And all its curtains of Aurorian clouds
 Flush'd angerly: while sometimes eagle's wings,
 Unseen before by Gods or wondering men,
 Darken'd the place; and neighing steeds were heard,
 Not heard before by Gods or wondering men.
 Also, when he would taste the spicy wreaths
 Of incense, breath'd aloft from sacred hills,
 Instead of sweets, his ample palate took
 Savour of poisonous brass and metal sick:
 And so, when harbour'd in the sleepy west,
 After the full completion of fair day, —
 For rest divine upon exalted couch
 And slumber in the arms of melody,
 He pac'd away the pleasant hours of ease
 With stride colossal, on from hall to hall;
 While far within each aisle and deep recess,
 His winged minions in close clusters stood,
 Amaz'd and full of fear, like anxious men
 Who on wide plains gather in panting troops,
 When earthquakes jar their battlements and towers.

In a discussion of this passage Sir Sidney Colvin⁷ observes that "the omens that 'perplex' are derived from the eclipse which in *Paradise Lost* 'with fear of change Perplexes monarchs.' " Since Ernest de Sélincourt⁸ agrees with Sir Sidney Colvin in attributing this passage on omens to the influence of Milton, it is necessary to examine the whole passage in *Paradise Lost* (I: 594 ff.) and see to what extent this attribution is valid:

. . . as when the sun new-risen
 Looks through the horizontal misty air
 Shorn of his beams, or, from behind the moon
 In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
 On half the nations, and with fear of change
 Perplexes monarchs.

Keats was familiar with this passage and annotated it in his copy of *Paradise Lost*; but obviously it did not supply him with the eight or more omens that he enumerates in *Hyperion*. It did, how-

⁷ Sir Sidney Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

⁸ Ernest de Sélincourt, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

ever, suggest to him the word "perplex," which may have been the associative factor that called up from the depths of his memory a mass of reminiscences of omens from Shakespeare's plays.

The chief source from which Shakespeare derived his knowledge of omens was North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*. To a less extent he made use of the signs of impending evil in the contemporary folk-lore of England. The belief in omens that foreboded misfortune made a deep and lasting impression upon Shakespeare's imagination, and he made use of it not only in his Roman plays but also in his plays dealing with the ancient history of Great Britain.

We can take up the omens that Keats enumerates and trace them back one by one to their probable source in Shakespeare's plays. The first two omens that forbode the fall of Hyperion are:

Not at dog's howl, or gloom-bird's hated screech,

in which the "gloom-bird" is obviously the owl. In *1 Henry VI* (I. iv. 21-2) Bolingbroke, the conjuror, speaking of unlucky signs, says,

The time when screech-owls cry and ban-dogs howl
And spirits walk and ghosts break up their graves;

and in *3 Henry VI* (V. vi. 44 ff.) King Henry says to the future Richard III,

The owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign;
The night-crow cried, aboding luckless time;
Dogs howl'd, and hideous tempest shook down trees.

In this instance Keats followed Shakespeare in *Henry VI* very closely in placing in juxtaposition these two particular signs of misfortune. It is only in *Henry VI* that Shakespeare refers to the dog's howl as a sign of evil; in his other plays he uses instead the howl of the wolf.

The third omen in *Hyperion* is stated as follows:

Or the familiar visiting of one
Upon the first toll of his passing-bell.

The obscure meaning of this portent is clarified by an investigation of its sources. The "familiar visiting" was suggested by a speech of Lady Macbeth before the murder of Duncan (*Macbeth*: I. v. 46-7):

* Cp. also *1 Henry VI* (IV. ii. 15-16); *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (V. i. 383 ff.); *Macbeth* (II. ii. 3 ff.); *Julius Caesar* (I. iii. 25 ff.).

That no compunctuous visiting of nature
Shake my fell purpose,

which was fused with a reference to the passing bell in *Macbeth* (II. ii. 3-4):

It was the owl that Shriek'd, the fatal bellman,
That gives the stern 'st good-night.

It is important to observe that the screech of the owl, which Keats had used as his second omen, was probably the associative factor that recalled as his third omen a reminiscence of the passing-bell in *Macbeth* with which the screech of the owl was also connected.

The fourth omen in *Hyperion* is:

Or prophesyings of the midnight lamp.

The "prophesyings" is a reminiscence of *Macbeth* (II. iii. 62 ff.) where Lennox says that on the night of Duncan's murder he heard

prophesyings with accents terrible
Of combustion and confused events
New hatch'd to the woeful time,

which was probably intensified in Keats's mind by a reminiscence of a similar passage in *Antony and Cleopatra* (IV. xiv. 120-21):

She had a prophesying fear
Of what hath come to pass.

Keats's association of the midnight lamp with the "prophesyings" was probably derived from his recollection of an incident that Shakespeare derived from Plutarch. In North's translation of Plutarch's *Life of Julius Caesar* (Section 46) Plutarch says that Brutus one night "thought he heard a noise at his tent-door, and looking towards the light of the lamp that waxed dim, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderful greatness and dreadful look, which at first made him marvellously afraid." In Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (IV. iii. 27 ff.), where this incident is used, Caesar's ghost appears in the tent of Brutus at midnight to prophesy his death in the Battle of Phillippi and Brutus says,

How ill this taper burns! (*the ghost enters*)
Ha! who is here?

I think it is the weakness of mine eyes
That shapes this monstrous apparition.

In *Richard III* (V. iii. 118 ff.) Shakespeare supplemented Holinshead's brief mention of Richard's dream by fusing with it the incident from Plutarch quoted above. At midnight before the

Battle of Bosworth Field the ghosts of all the people whom Richard had murdered appear in his tent and curse him. After the ghosts vanish, Richard awakes and says,

The lights burn blue. It is now dead midnight.
Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.

.

. . . shadows to-night
Have struck more terror to the soul of Richard
Than can the substance of ten thousand soldiers
Armed in proof, and led by shallow Richmond.

The fifth omen in *Hyperion* is stated as follows:

His palace bright
Bastion'd with pyramids of glowing gold,
And touch'd with shade of bronzed obelisks,
Glar'd a blood-red through all its thousand courts,
Arches, and domes, and fiery galleries;
And all its curtains of Aurorian clouds
Flush'd angrily.

The blood-red flushing of the palace of the sun at sunrise to forebode the fall of the sun-god, Hyperion, was suggested to Keats by allusions to this unlucky portent in Shakespeare's plays.

In *King John* (III. i. 326) Blanche says,

The sun's o'ercast with blood; fair day, adieu!

And in *1 Henry IV* (V. i. 1 ff.) on the morning of the Battle of Shrewsbury King Henry says,

How bloodily the sun begins to peer
Above yon busky hill! The day looks pale
At his distemperature.

In Keats's statement of this omen the association of pyramids with the palace may have been suggested by a passage in *Macbeth* (IV. i. 55 ff.) where they are found in connection with the supernatural elements from which Keats derived some of his omens. When Macbeth visits the witches to learn his fate, he conjures them in part as follows:

Though castles topple on their warders' heads;
Though palaces and pyramids do slope
Their heads to their foundations; . . .
Even till destruction sicken; answer me
What I ask you.

The "curtains of Aurorian clouds" in Keats's description of the

palace of the sun is a very common poetical figure; but since the whole passage in which it is embedded is a mass of Shakespearean reminiscences, it may have been suggested by a description of a sunrise in *Romeo and Juliet* (I. i. 142 ff.):

Soon as the all-cheering sun
Should in the furthest east begin to draw
The shady curtains from Aurora's bed.

And in regard to Keats's use of the unusual word-form, "angery," for the usual "angrily," Harry Buxton Forman¹⁰ says: "Keats doubtless got the rarer word from Shakespeare who in *King John* (Act IV, Scene i) makes Arthur promise Hubert not to 'look upon the iron angery.' "

The sixth omen in *Hyperion* is stated as follows:

While sometimes eagle's wings
Unseen before by Gods or wondering men,
Darken'd the place.

This omen is derived from *Julius Caesar* (V. i. 80 ff.) where two eagles, which are birds of good omen, appear to the army of Casca; but they soon leave and their place is taken by ravens, crows, and kites, birds of evil omen, which, says Casca,

Fly o'er our heads and downward look on us,
As we were sickly prey: their shadows seem
A canopy most fatal, under which
Our army lies, ready to give up the ghost.

Keats's confusion of the eagle with the ravens, crows, and kites as a bird of evil omen may have been caused by their juxtaposition in *Julius Caesar*. In this case the confusion would have taken place unconsciously. But I am inclined to think that Keats consciously substituted the eagle for the ravens, crows, and kites; for, since the eagle was the bird of Jove and Jove was the enemy of Hyperion, the eagle in the case of Hyperion would be in particular a bird of evil omen.

Although Hyperion was troubled by these portents of evil,

He pac'd away the pleasant hours of ease
With stride colossal, on from hall to hall.

Since this reference to Colossus is embedded in a mass of Shakespearean reminiscences part of which came from *Julius Caesar*, it

¹⁰ H. B. Forman, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 135.

may have been suggested by an allusion in *Julius Caesar* (I. ii. 135-36) :

he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus.

The seventh omen in *Hyperion* is stated as follows :

and neighing of steeds were heard
Not heard before by Gods or wondering men.

The neighing of steeds as a sign of evil is derived from *Julius Caesar* (II. ii. 23) where it is said that before the murder of Caesar,

Horses did neigh and dying men did groan.

The atmosphere of wonder at the actions of the horses was probably suggested by a passage in *Macbeth* (II. iv. 14 ff.) where Ross says that on the night of Duncan's murder,

Duncan's horses — a thing most strange and certain —
Beauteous and swift, the minions of their race,
Turn'd wild in nature, broke their stalls, flung out,
Contending 'gainst obedience, as they would make
War with mankind.

In the eighth omen in *Hyperion* Keats says that because of these fearful portents Hyperion's minions stand "amaz'd and full of fear":

like anxious men
Who on wide plains gather in panting troops,
When earthquakes jar their battlements and towers.

The source of Keats's use of the earthquake as a sign of evil is found in *Macbeth* (II. ii. 65-6) where Lennox says that on the night of Duncan's murder,

some say, the earth
Was feverous and did shake.

The toppling down of towers by the earthquake in connection with its supernatural significance is found in *1 Henry IV* (III. i. 13 ff.) where Glendower boasts,

At my nativity
The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,
Of burning cressets, and at my birth
The frame and huge foundation of the earth
Shak'd like a coward;

and Hotspur retorts,

O, then the earth shook to see the heavens on fire,
And not in fear of your nativity.
Diseased nature oftentimes breaks forth
In strange eruptions; oft the teeming earth
Is with a kind of cholick pinch'd and vex'd
By the imprisoning of unruly wind
Within her womb; which, for enlargement striving,
Shakes the old beldam earth, and topples down
Steeple and moss-grown towers.

One of the most subtle instances of Keats's use of Shakespearean imagery is found in the opening lines of *Hyperion*:

Deep in the shady sadness of a vale
Far sunken from the healthy breath of morn,
Far from the fiery noon, and Eve's one star,
Sat gray-hair'd Saturn, quiet as a stone,
Still as the silence round about his lair;
Forest on forest hung about his head
Like cloud on cloud. No stir of air was there,
Not so much life as on a summer's day
Robs not one light seed from the feather'd grass,
But where the dead leaf fell, there did it rest.

The verses,

Not so much life as on a summer's day
Robs not one light seed from the feather'd grass,

were originally written:

Not so much Life as { a young vulture's wing
 what an eagle's wing
Would spread upon a field of green-ear'd corn.

The imagery of these verses, in which the "eagle" or the "vulture" suggests fierce energy and the "green-ear'd corn" vivid color, was out of harmony with the impression of lifeless, colorless silence which Keats sought to give. He got rid of the impression of energy by changing the verses to

Not so much life as on a summer's day
Robs not at all the dandelion's fleece;

but he intensified the impression of color by changing the "green-ear'd corn" to "dandelion's fleece." The use of "dandelion's fleece," however, by an interesting example of recollection through association brought to his mind a Shakespearean image that harmonized perfectly with the impression he sought to create. In his

copy of the Shakespeare Folio of 1808¹¹ Keats makes an annotation upon the following passage of *Troilus and Cressida* (I. iii. 316 ff.):

Blunt wedges rive hard knots: the seeded Pride
That hath to this maturity blowne up
In ranke Achilles, must or now be cropt,
Or shedding breed a Nursery of like evil
To over-bulke us all —

The image of “the seeded Pride That hath to this maturity blowne up” impressed Keats; and he observed,

One’s very breath while leaning over these pages is held for fear of blowing this line away — as easily as the gentlest breeze

Robs dandelions of their fleecy crowns.

The verse —

Robs dandelions of their fleecy crowns

is obviously a variant of the inharmonious verse in *Hyperion* —

Robs not at all the dandelion’s fleece.

Through association the image of the dandelion recalled Shakespeare’s image of

the seeded Pride
That hath to this maturity blowne up;

and Keats wrote the verse which stands in *Hyperion*:

Robs not one light seed from the feather’d grass.

The imagery of the following passage of *Hyperion* (I. 263 ff.) contains a number of reminiscences of Shakespearean imagery:

Releas’d, he fled
To the eastern gate, and full six dewy hours
Before the dawn in season due should blush,
He breath’d fierce breath against the sleepy portals,
Clear’d them of vapours, burst then wide
Suddenly on the ocean’s chilly streams.
The planet orb of fire, whereon he rode
Each day from east to west the heavens through,
Spun round in sable curtaining of clouds —

The imagery of this passage is an expression of Keats’s imaginative reaction to the imagery of Shakespeare. The image of the dawn blushing at the eastern gates before bursting “suddenly on the ocean’s chilly streams” was probably suggested by a similar image

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 254.

in Shakespeare's description of a sunrise in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (III. ii. 391-93):

Even till the eastern gate all fiery red,
Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams
Turns into gold his salt green streams —

Keats¹² was familiar with this passage; for in a letter to Jane Reynolds he writes:

Which of Shakespeare's plays do you like best? I mean in what mood do you like the sea best? It is very fine in the morning, when the sun,

Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,
Turns into gold his salt sea streams.

Keats was quoting from memory apparently; for he mis-reads "salt green streams."

The image of the sun bursting through the vapors that obscured the dawn as he set out on his journey from the east to the west was probably derived from Shakespeare's description of a sunrise in *Richard II* (III. iii. 63 ff.):

As does the blushing discontented sun
From out the fiery portal of the east,
When he perceives the envious clouds are bent
To dim his glory and to stain the track
Of his bright passage to the occident.

Shakespeare repeats this image of the sunrise in *1 Henry IV* (I. ii. 184 ff.) where Prince Hal in justification of his association with base companions says,

Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
To smother up his beauty from the world
That, when he please to be himself,
Being wanted, he may be more wonder'd at,
By breaking through the foul and ugly mists
Of vapours that did seem to strangle him.

The repetition of this image of the sun breaking through the clouds and vapors that obscured its rising would serve to deepen its impression in Keats's mind. The similarity in phraseology — "blush," "portal," "clouds," "vapours," "east" — as well as the similarity in imagery proves Keats's indebtedness to Shakespeare.

Keats's image of

The planet orb of fire, on which he rode —

¹² *Cambridge Keats*, p. 266.

is a repetition of the image he had used previously (I. 166):

Blazing Hyperion on his orb'd fire —

This image is probably a reminiscence of an image in *Twelfth Night* (V. i. 263-64):

As doth that orb'd continent the fire
That severs day from night —

Keats's indebtedness to *Twelfth Night* in this case is substantiated by a second indebtedness to the same passage of *Twelfth Night* in *Hyperion* (I. 302-03):

And all along a dismal rack of clouds,
Upon the boundaries of day and night,
He stretched himself —

In *Hyperion* (III. 93-4) Apollo says,

Why should I
Spurn the green turf as hateful to my feet?

And in *The Cap and Bells* (xxxi. 3), which was composed in the same period with *Hyperion*, Keats repeats the image:

Lifted his eye-brows, spurn'd the path beneath —

The source of this image is found in a letter of Keats¹³ to Benjamin Robert Haydon in which Keats, who was re-reading *Antony and Cleopatra* at the time, applies the events of the play to contemporary historical happenings: "Shakespeare," observes Keats, "makes Enobarb says —

Where's Antony?
Eros. — He's walking in the garden and spurns
The rush that lies before him; cries, Fool, Lepidus
(III. v. 14-16).

In *Hyperion* (III. 99-100) Apollo says,

Point me out the way
To any one particular star.

Ernest de Sélincourt¹⁴ suggests that this is a reminiscence of a passage in *All's Well that Ends Well* (I. i. 96-7):

'Twere all one
That I should love a bright particular star.

At the beginning of the second book of *Hyperion* Keats describes the den of the defeated Titans — a description that was

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

¹⁴ Ernest de Sélincourt, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

drawn in the main from Keats's recollections of Fingal's Cave, which he had visited with Charles Brown on their Scotch tour. Keats, then, relates how Saturn with Thea, his guide, came to the den of the Titans. They

had climb'd
With damp and slippery footing from a depth
More horrid still. Above a somber cliff
Their heads appear'd, and up their stature grew
Till on the level height their steps found ease.

This description of Saturn mounting a cliff overlooking the den of the Titans was inspired probably by Keats's reminiscences of a passage in *King Lear* (VI. vi. 4 ff.) where Edgar, disguised as a mad beggar, pretends to lead his blinded father, Gloucester, to the verge of

A cliff whose high and bending head
Looks fearfully in the confined deep.

Edgar says to his blinded father,

Hark! do you hear the sea? . . .
How fearfull
And dizzy 'tis to cast one's eyes so low!
The crows and choughs that wing the midway air
Show scarce so gross as beetles; half way down
Hangs one that gathers samphire, dreadful trade!
Methinks he seems no bigger than his head.
The fishermen that walk upon the beach
Appear like mice, and yond tall anchoring bark
Diminish'd to her cock, her cock a buoy
Almost too small for sight. The murmuring surge,
That on the unnumber'd idle pebbles chafes,
Cannot be heard so high. I'll look no more,
Lest my brain turn, and the deficient sight
Topple down headlong.

The imagery of this passage on the sea in *King Lear* made a deep and lasting impression upon Keats's imagination. When he was taking a vacation on the Isle of Wight he wrote to John Hamilton Reynolds:¹⁵

From want of regular rest I have been rather *nervus* — and the passage in *Lear* — 'Do you not hear the sea?' — has haunted me intensely.

Immediately after this statement he quotes his sonnet *On the Sea* which this passage in *Lear* had inspired. In a letter to Haydon,¹⁶

¹⁵ *Cambridge Keats*, p. 257.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

a month later, he applied the solemn imagery of Shakespeare's description of the sea to himself: "I am one," he writes, "who gathers samphire, dreadful trade — the cliff of poesy towers above me." This cliff, "whose high and bending head looks fearfully on the confined deep," had appeared previously in his *Epistle to George Keats* (ll. 124-25):

That crowns a lofty cliff, which proudly towers
Above the ocean waves.

With the added element of the "murmuring surge" from the same passage in *King Lear* this cliff had also occurred in *Endymion* (II. 239 ff.):

On a ridge
Now fareth he, that o'er the vast beneath
Towers like an ocean-cliff, and whence he seeth
A hundred waterfalls, whose voices come
But as the murmuring surge.

Just as Keats derived from Shakespeare his knowledge of omens, so also he derived from the same source his knowledge of fairies, witches, magicians, and things magical and supernatural. For instance, the influence of *The Tempest* can be discerned in the following passage of *Hyperion* (II. 132 ff.) in which Saturn tells the fallen Titans that he can nowhere find the cause of their defeat:

Not in the legends of the first of days,
Studied from that old spirit-leaved book
Which starry Uranus with finger bright
Sav'd from the shores of darkness, when the waves
Low-ebb'd still hid it in shallow gloom; —
And the which book ye know I ever kept
For my firm-based footstool: . . .
No, nowhere can I unriddle, though I search,
And pore on Nature's universal scroll.

This same magic book had previously appeared in *Endymion* (III. 132 ff.) where Endymion in his wanderings under the sea came upon the aged Glaucus:

Beside this old man lay a pearly wand,
And in his lap a book, the which he conn'd
So steadfastly, that the new denizen
Had time to keep him in amazed ken,
To mark these shadowings, and stand in awe.

Glaucus, like Saturn, had secured his magic book by rescuing it from the waves. One day while sitting on a rock above the spray

he saw a vessel with all on board destroyed by a tempest. He was gazing at the place where the vessel had sunk, when, he says,

When at my feet emerg'd an old man's hand,
Grasping this scroll, and this same slender wand.
I knelt with pain — reach'd out my hand — had grasp'd
These treasures — touch'd the knuckles — they unclasp'd —
I caught a finger; but the downward weight
O'erpowered me — it sank.

The magic book revealed to Glaucus the prophecy of the coming of Endymion and the resurrection through Endymion of all the lovers who had perished in the sea. The same magic book with its marvellous properties reappears mysteriously in two of Keats's incomplete poems, *The Cap and Bells* and *The Eve of St. Mark*. Many of the details of Keats's story of Glaucus in *Endymion* — his solitary exile, his magic wand, and his magic book, by means of whose marvellous properties he is restored to his former fortunes — were modelled upon Shakespeare's story of Prospero in *The Tempest*. In this instance the magic book which appears in Keats's *Endymion*, *Hyperion*, *The Cap and Bells*, and *The Eve of St. Mark* was suggested by the magic book of Prospero. But in *Hyperion* the magic book has also assumed a larger significance. It is not merely an "old spirit-leaved book;" it is also "Nature's universal scroll." In this sense when Saturn says,

though I search
And pore on Nature's universal scroll.

Keats may have also had in mind a passage in *Antony and Cleopatra* (I. ii. 9-10) where the soothsayer says,

In nature's infinite book of secrecy
A little I can read.

In addition to deriving from Shakespeare facts of information Keats drew from him suggestions for characterizations. Even in the case of the characters and plot of *Hyperion*, in which the influence of Milton is dominant, the influence of Shakespeare is important. In commenting on the following verse of *Hyperion* (I. 52) in which Thea says,

Saturn, look up! — though wherefore, poor old king!

Ernest de Sélincourt¹⁷ has shown that Shakespeare's conception and characterization of King Lear had a considerable influence upon Keats's conception and characterization of Saturn:

¹⁷ Ernest de Sélincourt, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

When it is remembered that Keats's sonnet recording the profound impression made upon him by re-reading *King Lear* was written at a time when *Hyperion* was already in his mind, it is easy to believe that he was more or less consciously influenced by Shakespeare in his conception of the character of Saturn, whose kingdom, and the power of mind necessary to rule it have passed away from him in age. It is noticeable that the epithet *old* is applied to Lear, at least twenty times, with deeply tragic reiteration; and his weakness, whether it is viewed with contempt, or pity, or love, or referred to by Lear himself in his utter misery, is always alluded to as the weakness of age. Goneril alludes to it with a sneer (I. iii. 16-19), Regan taunts him with it (II. iv. 48), and Gloucester twice in the same speech applies to him the epithet *poor old* (III. vii. 57, 62), whilst Lear calls himself a *poor old man* and constantly harps upon it." (Cp. also II. iv. 156, 194, 238; III. iv. 20, etc.).

It is noteworthy also that Saturn replies to Thea (lines 98-102) by questions as to his identity which recall strikingly the language and mood of Lear (I. iv. 246-50):

Doth any here know me? This is not Lear:
Doth Lear walk thus? speak thus? where are his eyes?
Either his motion weakens, his discernings
Are lethargied — Ha! waking? 'tis not so.
Who is it that can tell me who I am?

Keats undoubtedly had this passage in mind in *Hyperion* (I. 98-102) when Saturn says to Thea,

Look up, and tell me, if thou hear'st the voice of
Of Saturn; tell me if this wrinkling brow,
Naked and bare of its great diadem,
Peers like the front of Saturn.

The last verse of this passage, "Peers like the front of Saturn," is Shakespearean in phraseology and imagery. Compare *Winter's Tale* (IV. iv. 3) where Florizel says to Perdita,

No shepherdess, but Flora
Peering in April's front.

The influence of Shakespeare can also be discerned in the characterization of some of the other Titans as well as in the characterization of Saturn. In the second book of *Hyperion* the debate of the fallen Titans is modelled on the debate of the fallen angels in the second book of Milton's *Paradise Lost*; and Enceladus, the fierce Titan, who counsels war, corresponds roughly perhaps to Moloch. Enceladus, who does not appear in Hesiod's *Theogony*, is usually identified with Typhon; but Keats represents both Typhon and Enceladus among the fallen Titans. In *Ovid*, which

Keats knew in Sandys's translation, Typhon is the warlike leader of the Titans; but Keats gives the leadership in war to Enceladus. Keats's differentiation of Typhon and Enceladus and the bestowal of the martial leadership upon Enceladus were suggested, I think, by the following passage in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (IV. ii. 93 ff.). When the sons of Tamora would make way with her black child by Aaron the Moor, Aaron says,

I tell you, younglings, not Enceladus
With all his threat'ning band of Typhon's brood,
Nor great Alcides, nor the god of war
Shall seize this prey out of a father's hand.

In this passage, as in Keats's *Hyperion*, Typhon and Enceladus are distinguished and Enceladus is endowed with great warlike prowess. The influence of this passage upon Keats's conception of Enceladus and of Typhon is proved by the echo of the verse:

I tell you, younglings, not Enceladus —

in a verse of the speech of Enceladus in *Hyperion*:

Are ye not smitten by a youngling arm?

Another verse of Enceladus' speech,

Do you forget the blows, the buffets vile?

is an apt reminiscence of a speech of the Second Murderer in *Macbeth* (III. i. 108 ff.):

I am one, my liege,
Whom the vile blows and buffets of the world
Have so incensed that I am reckless what
I do to spite the world.

Still another verse of the speech of Enceladus,

That was before we knew the winged thing
Victory, might be lost or might be won

was probably suggested by a speech of the Second Witch in *Macbeth* (I. i. 4):

When the hurlyburly's done
When the battle's lost and won.

Keats's characterization of Hyperion, finally, owes something to Shakespeare. W. T. Arnold¹⁸ objected to Keats's representation of Hyperion as the sun-god as not strictly correct according to the best classical authorities; but, as Ernest de Sélincourt¹⁸ has pointed out, Keats had the usage of Shakespeare as a precedent

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 500.

for his representation of Hyperion. Keats's description of Hyperion, too, is reminiscent of Shakespeare:

Golden his hair of short Numidian curl,
Regal his shape majestic —

which was suggested probably by Hamlet's description of his father (III. iv. 55 ff.):

See, what a grace was seated on this brow;
Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself —

"Hyperion's curls" was embroidered by Keats into "Golden his locks of short Numidian curl"; and "the front of Jove himself" probably suggested "Regal his shape majestic." The whole description, moreover, is characteristic of *Hyperion* — the style with its Latin inversions is Miltonic while the matter of the imagery is Shakespearean.

After making this analysis of the Shakespearean reminiscences that entered into the composition of Keats's *Hyperion*, the following inferences can be drawn about the process of composition that took place in Keats's mind. These inferences are supported in addition by significant observations that Keats himself made in his letters.

In the first stage, the stage of preparation, Keats stored his mind with matter, facts and images, in two ways: by personal experience — sensuous, intellectual, and intuitional; and by reading and assimilating the recorded experience of his predecessors, in this case the recorded experience of Shakespeare. Keats honestly acknowledged his indebtedness to his literary masters. In one of his sonnets¹⁹ he says,

How many bards gild the lapses of time!
A few of them have ever been the food
Of my delighted fancy, — I could brood
Over their beauties, earthly or sublime:
And often when I sit me down to rhyme
These will in throngs before my mind intrude:
But no confusion, no disturbance rude
Do they occasion; 'tis a pleasing chime.

In the second stage the matter gathered by experience and by reading sinks into the unconscious realms of the poet's mind, where it suffers infinite modification. This stage is admirably described by Henry James. In the preface to his novel, *The American*, he says:

¹⁹ *Cambridge Keats*, p. 8.

I was charmed with my idea (the plot of *The American*) which would take, however, much working out; and precisely because it had so much to give, I think, must I have dropped it into the deep well of unconscious cerebration: not without the hope, doubtless, that it might eventually emerge from that reservoir, as one had already known the buried treasure to come to light with a firm iridescent light and a notable increase in weight.

In this reservoir of unconsciousness facts are gathered together from all the corners of the earth and brought into the closest proximity. They act and react upon one another, discombine into their primal elements, fall into new combinations, and modify one another in infinite ways. This is a more psychological statement of Wordsworth's definition of the "conferring, abstracting, and modifying powers of the imagination." When the poet begins composition upon a definite subject his conscious mental activity sets in motion a complementary activity in the unconscious realms of his mind; and, as Keats²⁰ says in one of his letters, "the Simple imaginative Mind may have its rewards in the repetition of its own silent Workings coming continually on the Spirit with a fine suddenness —." Tennyson²¹ observes pertinently: "Perfection in art is perhaps more sudden sometimes than we think; but then the long preparation for it, that unseen germination, *that* is what we ignore and forget."

The passing of the second stage into the third is aptly described by Dryden.²² He speaks of one of his plays

when it was only a confused mass of thoughts, tumbling over one another in the dark; when the fancy was yet in its first work, moving the sleeping images of things toward the light, there to be distinguished, and then either chosen or rejected by the judgment.

Thus in the third stage the conscious will summons forth from the reservoir of unconsciousness the facts that have there undergone that "unseen germination" and places them before the judgment for acceptance, modification, or rejection. The comparison of the early drafts of Keats's poems with their final versions shows that in this conscious stage his imagination achieved some of its finest effects. Keats²³ refers to this stage when he speaks of "The innumerable compositions and decompositions which take place between the intellect and its thousand materials before it arrives at that trembling, delicate, and snail-horn perception of beauty."

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

²¹ Hallam Tennyson, *Memoir of Alfred Tennyson*, Vol. I, p. 453.

²² W. P. Kerr, *Essays of John Dryden*, 2 Vols., Oxford, 1900, Vol. I, p. 1.

²³ *Cambridge Keats*, p. 296.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Language of the Konungs Skuggsjá, by George T. Flom. (*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*. Vol. VII, No. 3) 152 pp.

More than six years ago Professor Flom published a facsimile edition of the chief manuscript of the *King's Mirror*, which he prefaced by a scholarly introduction, dealing mainly with the history of the manuscript and giving a description of its present state of preservation and more particularly of the script. He now has issued a study of the language used in this important monument of the Norwegian past, which will be welcomed by scholars interested in Germanics, especially by those engaged in the field of Old-Norse and Old-Icelandic. Mr. Flom's study embodies the results of diligent and prolonged labor.

The present monograph treats only of the nouns and the declension and comparison of adjectives. A presentation of the other parts of speech is, however, to appear in the near future. All nouns occurring in the text of this manuscript are listed, grouped alphabetically according to the different stems to which they belong, while in the case of the adjectives only sufficient material is included to establish the norm, though all compounds and adjectives exhibiting noteworthy forms or meanings are given. The different meanings in which each word occurs in the *King's Mirror* are stated, often with detailed discussion and citation of long passages in the original, to illustrate the various applications. The author, in some instances, attempts to establish different meanings for variant forms, and his arguments are convincing. A good example is his interpretation of *manvit* as "native wit, common sense" and *mannvit* as "human intelligence in non-human beings."

For a publication of so difficult a character, the work is singularly free from errors. Once we find *Þoraraskapr* instead of *Þorparaskapr* (90); occasionally the English synonym has been omitted, as for instance in the case of *marg-faldu*, manifold (115) and *œndalauss*, endless! (119); under *snarpr*, sharp, (125) we are referred to *æggiðr*, edged, which I have failed to locate. There are no mistakes which the reader cannot amend easily at sight.

With many words abundant references are given to the forms under which the word in question occurs either in some particular passage, in the old as well as the modern Scandinavian languages, the dialects, Icelandic, Faroese, etc., included. In connection with the treatment of adjectives, we find a clear and precise summary of the adjective declension.

With regard to *tæying*, evidence (60), I wish to refer to OHG. *gisiugôn*, MLG. *tugen*, *tüge*, *getûch*, and the NHG. *seugen*, *Zeuge*, *Zeugnis*, used in the sense of "testify, witness, testimony." Kluge (*Etym. Wörterbuch*) does not, however, assume the existence of a root separate from OHG. *siohan*, Goth. *tiuhan*, OS. *tiohan*, OE. *teon*, but interprets the secondary meaning as *Zusammenführung*, *Zusammenziehung* vor Gericht. The exact etymological

equivalent of *lykelskegg* (62) exists in the German language to this day in *Schlüsselbart*. The term *roþgolltr*, an iron-clad device attached to the prows of ships in naval warfare, used in the attack of enemy ships (81) may possibly be related to L.G. *Kolter*, a knife-like contrivance fastened to the beam of the plow vertically at about the point of the plow-share, used in plowing sod to cut the turf. The arrangement of the material is systematic, and a good index serves to make it still more readily accessible. In the latter, words occurring in the *King's Mirror*, Old-Norse words, and those words listed not belonging to either of these categories are distinguished by the use of different styles of type. Professor Flom is to be congratulated on the success of his work, and we hope that the publication of the second part will not be delayed.

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Le Troubadour Raimon-Fordan, Vicomte de Saint-Antonin, par Hilding Kjellman. Uppsala and Paris, 1922.

This work embraces a study of the life of the author, along with illuminating material on Saint-Antonin and its *Vicomtes*, appreciation of his work, remarks on the metrics of the verse, a study of its language including morphology, phonology and syntax, translation of the text, and exegetical and philological notes, and forms a most meticulous and exhaustive treatment of this most graceful of Provençal poets. Thorough study of the MSS and presentation of critical apparatus make the text especially valuable and illuminating. The bibliography, while not exhaustive, is admirable and may well serve as a guide to an approach of the whole field. A complete glossary would have added somewhat to the usefulness of the text.

The use of the same Roman type for numeration of both stanza and lyric is slightly confusing; in general, however, the mechanical execution of the work is excellent. The choice of conventional and uniform orthography is well defended (p. 57) although original spellings are often enlightening.

The retention of a limited number of cases of Latin -d- (p. 41) is not necessarily other than graphic. The absence of prosthetic *e*, treated on p. 42 is probably merely textual. *S'en teno per pagatz* (p. 55) has close analogies in Old French which have been treated by Tobler in his *Vermischte Beiträge* and a remotely similar use of prepositional nominative appears to the present day in the first element of *ENTRE(E) ambos vinieron* in Spanish.

The editor has not overvalued the beauty and poetic harmony of the verse (p. 33), and the difficulty of doing it justice in modern French is largely organic. Otherwise the renderings are faithful and accurate, and the work will be an exceedingly welcome and valuable contribution to the study of the wonderful language and literature of the troubadours.

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THE SUBSCRIPTION OF THE FREER PAPYRUS OF THE MINOR PROPHETS

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The last page of the Freer papyrus manuscript of the Minor Prophets was assembled from many small fragments but the exact position of each piece is fixed also by the continuous text on the other side of the leaf. We read first the regular subscription [μαλ]αχιας ιβ. Below in a larger hand with blacker ink is a second note, which I read or supply as follows:

προφ(ηται) ιβ σται[χοι ,γ]
ε ολοκο(τινων)

We expect to find here first a designation of the amount of text covered, so that the mark of abbreviation through the bottom of the φ makes the completion of that word easy. This should be followed by the number of the prophets included in the manuscript. It certainly contained 12, most of Hosea being now lost. If these were once preceded by the four major prophets the number would have to be 16. Our choice is thus between ιβ and ις. We need only to compare ιβ just above in order to be sure. The top of the ι is visible as well as the line above indicating the numeral; of the β a part of the upper loop is lost but both ends are there, so that it is necessary to supply only a short curve joining these parts. The whole bottom of the letter is gone, but it must have been like the one above. If we have a complete designation of the amount of text in the manuscript the number of the στίχοι should follow, and there are in fact remnants of four letters preserved. The first two are doubtful but the last two are quite certainly ει. The first letter had a top curving down slightly at the end, while the second

had a nearly straight top. For the first our choice must lie between ϵ , θ , and σ , as the σ in this hand is much smaller. For the second letter the choice at first seems larger, as γ , ζ , ξ , π , τ , come in question; ζ and ξ are however less likely because of the tendency towards a concave curve generally present in the horizontal top stroke. Here, if anything, there is a slight convexity, as often found in τ ; θ would be impossible before any of these letters, so our choice for the two must be between $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$, $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$, and $\sigma\pi\epsilon\iota$ or $\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$. When we recall the frequency with which ι , both long and short, is replaced by ϵ in the papyri, the restoration $\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota[\chi\omicron\iota]$ seems possible and it is besides exactly what we need, while none of the other combinations have any intelligible meaning.

The number of $\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$ can be restored only approximately. Nicephorus (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, Vol. 100, Col. 1058) gives the number of $\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$ in the Twelve Prophets as 3000, but it is to be noted that he disregards the hundreds in his whole list. According to Galen, quoted by Harris, *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, Vol. V, p. 139, the $\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ was reckoned at 16 syllables in prose (see other literature cited there). On this basis there should be above 3500 $\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$ in the Minor Prophets but surely less than 4000.

In the last line of the subscription we find what I explain as the price, either cost of writing or sale price, of the manuscript. The first letter ϵ is shown by the stroke above it to be a numeral, while the word $\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron$ follows. The way in which the last \omicron is written indicates an abbreviation, so we must supply one of the forms of $\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\iota\nu\iota\nu$ (for $\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\iota\nu\iota\omicron\nu$), $\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$. The last of these forms is cited but once and that in a magic treatise, *Greek Pap. Brit. Mus.*, Vol. 1, No. 46, l. 184 ($\iota\nu\tau\iota\kappa\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ — Indian holocotinoi). The form may be an error or a popular shortening, but it is doubtless the same word and not a magic word as given by the editor of the volume. The word in all forms occurs rather rarely and is not mentioned in the common Greek dictionaries. Sophocles, *Lex. Byz. Gr.*, cites only 5 cases and Herwerden but 7. The existence of the diminutive suggests that there may have been two coins of different values having this designation, and Sophocles recognizes the gold holocotinus, though defining regularly with Suidas as denarius. This is found in Suidas under the word $\Delta\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, which is described as $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ $\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\nu$, a silver coin having the worth of an holocotinus. Herwerden seems to recognize only the gold coin. It will therefore be well to review

the known instances before accepting a meaning for our passage.¹

No. 142 in *Ins. Graec. Sicil. et Ital.* was found in the catacombs of Syracuse and probably dates from the fourth or fifth century; it reads: ἐνθάδε κίτε Κωσταντία ἐτῶν εἴκοσι μηνὶ φεβρουαρίῳ τῆς εἰκοσι τεσσάρους ἡμέρα ἡλίου ἥδιος τόπος ἀγορασθέντος ὀλοκοτίνου. Beyond the fact that it is a grave inscription by a very illiterate writer we are interested only in the last phrase: "Her own place bought for an holocotinus." Kaibel explained ὀλοκότινος "ut ὀλόλιθος, ὀλοσίδηρος, solido ligno factum," evidently deriving from ὅλος, whole, and κότινος, wild olive tree. Perhaps he thought there was a reference to the coffin. Herwerden has correctly referred it to the purchase price of the burial place, and explains as a gold coin equal to the solidus (some three or four dollars). This is probably correct, but it is only an assumption as we have no data for estimating the proper price for a burial niche in the catacombs.

Reinach, *Pap. Grecs et Demotiques*, p. 169, refers tentatively to the sixth century a letter of Phoibammon to Taurinus, in which the latter is asked to collect the holocotinus owed Phoibammon and to buy a μικρὸν βοίδιον and deliver before the festival of Hermes. Reinach explains the holocotinus as a *sou d'or* and he is probably right, as the debt is said to have been acknowledged before the mayor. It is a fairly high price to have been paid for a calf, but we often find unusual prices for cattle in Egypt.

Much more definite is a reference in *Oxy. Pap.*, IX, 1223, a letter of Hermas (fourth century) in which he says: εἴ τι δὲ ἀργύρια ἔχεις παρὰ σοὶ ἢ ὀλοκοττίνα and below ὁ ὀλοκοττίνος νῦν μν(ριάδων) βκ ἐστίν. The holocotina are gold coins and the value in the depreciated copper is stated as 2020 myriads of denarii. He adds that it had been higher. One needs only to make the multiplication indicated to see that the depreciation of the denarii in the time of Phoibammon approximated that of the German mark of 1923.

Another definite passage of an earlier date is *Oxy. Pap.*, XIV, 1653, l.18, a receipt of the year 306 A.D. Acknowledgment is made for two ounces and ten grams of gold in 12 holocotinoi. These must be the same gold coins discussed by Mommsen, *Hermes*, XXV, p. 26 ff., while considering Diocletian's edict of 301 A.D. on the price of goods. He decided that it was one-sixtieth of a pound of gold and worth in 290 A.D. about the equivalent of our \$3.50.

¹ Cf. also Babelon, *Traité d. Mon. Gr. et Rom.*, Col. 880, and Σβορωνος in *Jour. Int. d'Arch. et Numis.*, II, 358 ff.: ὀλοκότινος derived from ὅλον and coctum, i.e. thoroughly refined.

Passages in the literature are cited by Ducange² (Greek) who defines as "nummus vel solidus aureus." Ducange (Latin) cites one case and defines: "Nummi Aegyptii genus forte integri auri unciam vel amplius appendens."

All instances of the use of the word are late, the earliest being in Diocletian's Edict *de pretiis rerum venalium* of the year 301 A.D., where it is again the gold holocotinus.

For Sophocles' explanation as a silver coin I have thus far found only the Suidas passage as authority and one for the diminutive *όλοκοτίν* in Theophanes, *Chron.* (Migne, Vol. 108, Col. 831B). The latter is very late and has been regularly misinterpreted. The passage reads: *ἡμεῖς προσετάξαμεν τοῖς διοικηταῖς, καὶ ἀπαιτοῦσιν εἰς κανόνα κατὰ ὀλοκοτίν τὸ μιλιάρισιον . . . ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ἐπεκράτησεν ἡ συνήθεια δίδειν τὰ δύο κέρατα τοῖς διοικηταῖς.* This refers to the tax established by Leo the Isaurian to help in rebuilding towns destroyed by an earthquake. The diminutive of holocotinus is here defined by *τὸ μιλιάρισιον*, a silver coin of the value of a drachma. The tax was later reduced and made permanent. The description is intelligible and consistent, but we do not know why Theophanes in the ninth century should use the word holocotinus or even know its value. Of course the term may have come back into use again, or it may be an antiquarian touch. In the case of Suidas we may feel sure that he is drawing from some older authority; thus it may be correct, though applying to a much earlier time.³

It would seem on the basis of evidence at hand that the holocotinus was considered a gold coin of the value of three or four dollars from the fourth to the sixth century and was most often mentioned in Egypt or in references to Egypt. It is not impossible that its name is connected with a whole wild olive either as emblem or otherwise, but it may be an Egyptian or other foreign designation of size or weight, and the form corrupted to the semblance of a Greek word.⁴ If there was also a silver coin of the same name, it must have been early, though it may have come back later, when the silver coinage was again stabilized.

Before attempting to decide which coin was meant in the subscription to our papyrus we must consider the probable cost of

² The most decisive passages are Theodoretus, *Hist. Ecc.* III, 1040A and *Apothegmata* 236D, 237A; the form *λοκοτίνη* is also cited in poetry.

³ The word occurs also in Viereck's *Strassburg Papyri*, No. 795 and in Papyrus No. 497 of the University of Michigan Collection.

⁴ Cf. also the derivation quoted above.

writing. For this a recently discovered papyrus (Brit. Mus. 2110) published by Bell, *Aegyptus*, 1921, pp. 281 ff., is most helpful. It contains the accounts of an Egyptian scriptorium and though fragmentary furnishes the following evidence: twelve drachmas were paid for copying three plays; 28 drachmas is stated as the regular price per 10000 στίχοι; and 13 drachmas are paid for 6300 στίχοι. We may also compare Diocletian's Edict *de pretiis rerum venalium*, 7, 39 ff., edited by Mommsen-Bluemner, p. 22, where the prices are: for the best writing, 25 denarii per 100 verses; for second class writing, 20 denarii; and for the cheap business writing, 10 denarii. These are of course the depreciated denarii fixed by the same edict at 50000 to the pound of gold, or a value of three-fifths of a cent, but probably worth much less. Nevertheless the prices seem somewhat higher than those mentioned in the papyrus; for the best type of writing the price in the Edict approximates \$1.50 per 1000 verses, while the papyrus price is nearer 25 cents actual or 40 cents exchange value. This difference can, however, well be covered by the known depreciation in the denarii, by the variations in price for different styles of writing, and by the possibility that the Egyptian price was somewhat lower than in the Empire as a whole. We may accept the prices given in the papyrus as sufficiently accurate for the second and early third century of our era. We know that earlier the price of books was comparatively cheap. Thus Martial, I, 117, states that a copy of his poems could be bought for five denarii (60 cents). This was not exceptional as is seen from the evidence collected by Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*. From the manuscripts themselves little evidence has been gathered and that applies to the late Middle Ages or early Renaissance. Montfaucon, *Biblot. Coislin*, p. 57, quotes γροσα δ, equal to four drachmas, from the fly leaf of a Psalter and 24 aspra as the price of Codex 29 of the Collection. Scrivener (*Intro. to N. T.*, p. 218) notes that manuscript No. 444 of the Gospels sold for 500 aspra in Renaissance times. This is the only exceptionally high price noted and is too late to have any bearing on our passage.

The five holocotinoi for the Minor Prophets can not well have exceeded in value one or two dollars and so the silver coins are meant. If we interpret as gold coins the price would be at least \$15, probably more. If we follow Suidas that the holocotinus was equivalent to the denarius, the price would be about 35 cents in the

third century. This is somewhat lower than the scriptorium price noted above, but not much out of proportion, when we consider that it was written in a semi-cursive hand, which may well have approximated the two-fifths price indicated in the Edict of Diocletian. We can not of course be certain that the price for writing rather than the sale price of the book is meant in our subscription, but I believe we may assume it for two reasons: first, a sale price would be more apt to go on binding or some label; and, secondly, it is very doubtful whether Christian books were on open sale before the time of Constantine. Certainly we read of the wholesale destruction of Bibles in various of the later persecutions.

There remains one point to be noted, the bearing that this subscription may have on the date of the manuscript. I have previously stated⁵ that on the basis of the style of writing the manuscript has to fall between 250 and 325 A.D. and that the closest parallel that I had been able to find was a document dated in 246 A.D. (*Amherst Pap.*, II, No. 72). Further study has tended to confirm this comparatively early date of the manuscript. I think there can be no reasonable doubt that it belongs to the third century. But we must remember that this was the time of the ruinous depreciation of the silver and copper coins. This is well illustrated by the tables of prices given in the article by West on "The Cost of Living in Roman Egypt," *Class. Phil.*, XI, 303 ff. I cite merely a few from the many illustrating the point.

Pay of Laborers		
215 A.D.	bricklayer per day	two and one-half drachmas
	assistant per day	two drachmas
255	assistant per day	six to nine drachmas
258/9	laborer per day	two drachmas
301	bricklayer per day	fifty denarii
314	laborers per day	400 to 650 drachmas
340	laborers per day	12 to 25 talents

Wheat		
192 A.D.	1 artaba	18 drachmas
255	1 artaba	16 drachmas
301	1 cast. modius	100 denarii
314	1 artaba	1 talent, 4000 denarii
350	1 artaba	50 talents

Wine		
Second Century	1 jar	8 dr., 1 ob.
Second Century	1 jar	2 dr., 4 ob.

⁵ *Harvard Theol. Review*, XIV, 181.

Second Century	1 jar	3 denarii
254 A.D.	1 monochorum	8 dr.
267 A.D.	101 jars	1100 dr.
Third Century	1 jar	20 dr.
301 A.D.	1 sextarius	8 denarii

This should be sufficient to illustrate the point; there was a tremendous depreciation in the purchasing power of money during the second half of the third century and all of the fourth. It seems to have been under way by 250 A.D. and to have continued with increasing rapidity until 301 A.D., after which time the fall was greatly accelerated.

The price of five denarii was a possible one for writing the Minor Prophets at the middle of the third century, but it becomes less likely with each decade after that date, and before the end of the century it becomes quite unthinkable. We may add that there was no corresponding depreciation in the gold coins, so that gold *holotinoi* can not be considered even at a much later date.

These results are confirmed and made more definite by a consideration of the history of coinage in the late Roman Empire (see Finlay, *Hist. Gr.*, Vol. I, App.). Before Caracalla (215 A.D.) the silver denarii had been so debased that 25 were intrinsically worth but little more than one half of an aureus, though that number was the official rate of exchange for the aureus. Caracalla reduced the aureus to 50 to the pound and increased the size of the denarius, so that he would have brought the two into proper relation, if he had not put 25 per cent of alloy in the silver. After this depreciation continues but does not become rapid until the time of Gallienus (260-268 A.D.), who debased the denarius to a copper coin, though denarii on account were still officially reckoned at 25 to the aureus. Aurelian (270-275) seems to have legalized the rate of 500 or 525 denarii to the aureus, the price at which they had circulated from the time of Gallienus. Under Diocletian 838 denarii were officially reckoned to the aureus and the real value was still less. It is clear that no real silver denarii were in circulation after 260 A.D. and that before 270 A.D. people had ceased to use the name to designate one twenty-fifth of an aureus. Constantine re-established silver coinage with the issue of the *miliarensis*, which finally supplied the place once held by the denarius and the drachma.

It would seem, therefore, that the papyrus of the Minor Prophets was written before 270 and probably before 260 A.D.

A FRENCH SOURCE OF BODMER'S *NOAH*

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Of Bodmer as a reader it may well be said that he was a literary adventurer, in the ancient significance of that term, for by nature he was given to faring forth into many literary lands. And rarely, it seems, did the interested reading of a book fail to provide him with some treasured literary trophies in the form of phrases, minor or major suggestions of one sort or another, available passages, important ideas, characters, scenes, episodes or what not, any or all of which he felt perfectly free to turn to account for some literary work which he either had in hand or was preparing to undertake. Some of the sources of his *Noah* I have already discussed elsewhere,¹ but to give a more adequate idea of its genesis it will be necessary to consider still further works to which Bodmer became indebted as the author of his biblical epic. In the present discussion we shall concern ourselves with a French source.

Bodmer's account of the tragic fate of Sipha's fifty sons who are enamored of the fifty daughters of Abiram, the sun-worshipping priest, is from the point of view of literary influences to be regarded as a kind of composite, since, besides revealing a reminiscence of a classical motif,² it is also, as will be shown below, clearly indebted to a French source, viz., Mme. de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*. A few words in regard to the French author in question will perhaps not be amiss.

Mme. de Graffigny (1695-1758), who married early, was soon divorced from her husband on the ground of cruelty. For a brief period in 1738 she was the guest of Mme. du Châtelet and Voltaire; her visit however terminated unhappily. Subsequently she went to Paris where her salon became the literary centre of that city. Her first novel was not a success, but her *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*, an imitation of Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, enjoyed a wide pop-

¹ Cf. *The Journal of English and German Philology*, XVII, 589-601; *Modern Philology*, XV, 247-253; *Philological Quarterly*, I, 110-116; *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIX, 247-248.

² With the classical source I hope to deal elsewhere.

ularity as is evidenced by the numerous editions of the work and by the further fact that it was translated into several languages. Besides this best known of her works she wrote also several plays. One of these, *Cénie*, proved a great success on the stage.

To return to the *Noah*. Bodmer's Abiram, assisted by his fifty daughters, performs his religious services to the god of the sun. The temple is situated on the Island of the Sun, and the virgins,³ who are cut off from all intercourse with the outside world, live with their female slaves⁴ in an adjoining building. These features are strikingly paralleled in Mme. de Graffigny's work, for here too we read of a "temple (du soleil)" which is situated in the "ville du soleil." We find also the "culte du soleil" and the "vierges" or "filles du soleil," who are likewise cut off from the world. And as in the French account the Spaniards force their way into the "temple du soleil," so in Bodmer's *Noah* Abiram's sons invade the temple of the sun; moreover, in each case the forcible entry into the sacred halls is followed by wholesale bloodshed. Nay, even the reference to the "image du soleil foulée aux pieds" has its reminiscences in Bodmer's

"Alsdann nahmen sie (sc. Siphass Söhne) auch den nichts vermögenden Abgott Von dem Gesims herunter, ihn unter den Pison zu werfen."⁵

(*Noah* p. 26)

One other parallel feature in the two corresponding episodes may be pointed out. As in the French story we learn of the escape from death of only one of the holy virgins, namely Zilia, so in the *Noah* the life of only one of Siphass's fifty sons is spared.

Turning now to the twelfth canto of Bodmer's epic⁶ and the twelfth letter⁷ in Mme. de Graffigny's work we discover a notable resemblance between Kerenhapuch's nature, on the one hand, and that of Zilia in the *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*, on the other, for in both cases the women upon entering the forest burst forth into rhapsodies which betray a striking similarity.⁷ Though it will necessitate the exclusion of certain common features, I shall at this time, while citing the parallel passages involved, confine myself to those portions which happen to show also verbal correspondences.

³ Bodmer refers to them as "Mädchen der Sonne" (*Noah* ed. 1765, p. 21), "Töchter der Sonne" (N. p. 22), "Bräute der Sonne" (N. p. 25).

⁴ Cf. "mamas" in the *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*.

⁵ Cf. particularly p. 330 of the *Noah*.

⁶ Cf. pp. 68-70 in the Paris edition of 1821.

⁷ Kerenhapuch's rhapsodical outbursts were influenced also by certain passages in *Paradise Lost*, as I hope to show on another occasion.

Kerenhapuch's rhapsodical words are evoked by the beauties of the forest when the members of the Noachian circle after their long confinement in the ark again step ashore. She exclaims:

"Sei mir gegrüsst, süssduftender Hain in dem schattigten Lichte,

* * * * *

Flüsse des Lichts, so sanft von webenden Schatten gemildert,
Seid mir wieder begrüset! euch hab ich zu lange vermisset,
Allzulang' in dem engen Gefängnis die Seeluft gesogen;

* * * * *

O wie hüpf't mir der Busen, von euerm Reize gewieget!
Eure Kühle gab uns sich zu schauen, bevor wir sie fühlten,
Und das verschiedene Grün der Blätter erquickte den Busen,
Als das Aug' es kaum sah. O welches vermischetes Räuchwerk
Lässt uns im Zweifel, ob wir nicht vielmehr es schmecken, denn riechen!
Saget, wie soll ich es nennen, wie heisst der Sinn, der von uns noch
Keinen Namen empfing, der von den blumigten Lüften
Mit der geistigen Wollust sich so durch die Adern ergiesset!"

(*Noah* p. 330 f.)

In the following French passage we recognize at once the source of Bodmer's lines. Upon Zilia, who had been brought up in the temple of the sun, the beauties of the world, when she first enters it in company with Aza,⁸ naturally exert a novel charm; even this motif, it will be noted, bears a resemblance to that in the *Noah*, for Kerenhapuch, after the long sojourn in the ark, would naturally enough experience a similar sense of refreshing contrast when standing once more in the presence of the beauty of the forest. Two passages concern us here, the first being the one in which Zilia speaks as follows:

"Benfermée dans le temple dès ma plus grande enfance, je ne connaissais pas les beautés de l'univers; quel bien j'aurais perdu."

(*Lettres d'une Péruvienne* p. 68 f.)

And in the second passage we read:

"Que les bois sont délicieux, mon cher Aza! En y entrant, un charme universel se répand sur tous les sens et confond leur usage. On croit voir la fraîcheur avant de la sentir; les différentes nuances de la couleur des feuilles adoucissent la lumière qui les pénètre, et semblent frapper le sentiment aussitôt que les yeux. Une odeur agréable, mais indéterminée, laisse à peine discerner si elle affecte le goût ou l'odorat; l'air même, sans être aperçu, porte dans tout notre être une volupté pure qui semble nous donner un sens de plus, sans pouvoir en désigner l'organe."

(*Lettres d'une Péruvienne* p. 70)

⁸ In the *Noah* we meet the name Asa.

It may be well to repeat here what in substance I have pointed out in an earlier number of the *Philological Quarterly*.⁹ The attitude toward literary borrowing has by no means always been what we know it today. What in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example, was regarded in various countries of Europe with tacit approval and even with considerable favor, has now fallen not only into desuetude but also into unmistakable disrepute, for within a comparatively recent period the idea of property in the field of letters — as in the province of the creative arts — has made much headway. In fact by means of formal enactments of law-making bodies in many of the leading countries of the world this new and radically different point of view has been legislated into a well known and widely accepted ethical and legal principle; and thus the change in opinion which has gradually developed in this direction is now clearly reflected in the special body of copyright laws dealing with the subject. Such legislative action, of course, concerns itself only with deliberate borrowing; it does not, and indeed can not, presume to interfere with what is frankly recognized as the more or less subtle and intangible literary influence of one author or group of authors upon another writer.

⁹ Cf. *Philological Quarterly*, I, 116.

THE INTEREST OF ENGLISH POETS IN ITALIAN FREEDOM

By ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON
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Although Lord Castlereagh, after the settlement of European affairs in 1815, declared that constitutions are costly, and although staunch Tories feared to see any change in the so-called balance of power that was their fetish, the liberals in England looked with sympathy upon the struggle for Italian independence. Even Lord Castlereagh, who credited Metternich with the prevention of disastrous upheavals in the Italian states, warned the emperor at Vienna that a continuance of tyranny would force England to intervene. He realised that he could not withstand the protests of his countrymen, who evinced keen interest in the rapid growth of Italy's national consciousness.

This sympathy can be easily explained. There were Italian refugees in London to make the appeal. One of the most interesting of these foreigners was Gabriele Rossetti. He had come into disfavor with King Ferdinand of Naples because of his political poems. Could any hint of assassination for a tyrant be plainer than this:

I Sandi ed i Luvelli
Non son finiti ancor!

So Rossetti was forced into hiding and was finally enabled to flee only through the kindness of Sir Graham Moore, who lent him for disguise an English naval uniform. Rossetti sailed in an English man-of-war to Malta and thence to London, where, during his remaining years, he exerted a considerable personal influence.

The people of London knew Rossetti hardly at his best, as a poet. His autobiography in verse was not published until after his death. Few, therefore, realized the high hope that he had nourished when the constitution was granted in Naples and the blood in his veins "like a burning lava coursed." Nor did many read the beautiful lyric, "Sei pur bella cogli astri sul crine," which he composed as Naples rose to freedom, or the exile's sad farewell, "Nella notte più

serena." Calling himself the exiled singer, and comparing his song to that of the mournful nightingale, he blessed his country and sailed away, never expecting to return. But from England he looked always with anxious affection toward his home. Although English readers of his poems were few, many in London felt his influence. To his friends he ever insisted, as he did in his last published letter: "our tribulations, dear madam, will not finish very soon, but finish they will at last."¹

Gabriele Rossetti was only one of these exiled patriots. Dr. Polidori was another, whose daughter Rossetti married. Mazzini in London, fomenting revolution at home or appealing vigorously to the English public in the magazines, exerted an even greater influence. In consequence, English sympathy grew steadily from year to year.

That sympathy was still further aroused by societies organized to promote the cause. One was called the Garibaldi Italian Unity Committee. Another, established in 1847 by Peter Taylor and James Stansfeld, was The Society of the Friends of Italy. It was designed "to aid, in this country, the cause of the Independence, and of the political and religious liberty, of the Italian People." Among its members were such men as Landor, Forster, Masson, Lewes, and Macready. Seeing that there is "a larger and more generous principle than that of non-intervention," the society rejected the plea that the country was sufficiently engrossed with domestic affairs, and urged on Englishmen the duty of keeping informed on the crisis in Italy, of expressing forcefully their opinion, and of determining on "a course of appropriate national action." The next year, this society attempted to inject the question into the Parliamentary election.² Free trade as an issue seemed a less important matter than England's attitude toward new governments in Hungary and Italy, and toward political refugees who sought asylum in England. Some of the speeches of Stansfeld were printed; meetings were held in many cities to welcome men like Garibaldi; addresses were circulated. Through such channels, also, the agitation spread.

In addition, there were ample commercial and industrial considerations that served as incentives to the same end. Cavour, the great leader of Piedmont, admired England's form of government

¹ W. Rossetti, *Memoir of D. G. Rossetti*, 1, p. 14.

² *Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy*. London, 1851; *Appeal to Electors*. London, 1852.

and wished to establish something like it at home; and the English, accordingly, approved of Cavour. England had commercial interests in Piedmont that profited from the breaking down of old, protective barriers. Especially after Cavour had floated a loan in England, British capitalists felt that they had something tangible at stake in the little southern kingdom.

Naturally, therefore, the poets took up the cause of independence. "Italian poetry has never deserted the cause of her country and of her country's wrongs," one Florentine boasted.³ And English poets were quick to add their support. From the established conservative feeling of 1815, one can trace the growth of sympathy after the revolutions of 1820 and 1821, through the stormy years of 1848 and 1859, and on to the final struggle of 1870, when the kingdom was fully formed.

Wordsworth quite naturally, before his fervor for revolutionary principles had cooled, took the liberal stand. The sonnet on the Venetian Republic was written when hope was well nigh impossible. But later, in the sonnet *From the Alban Hills*, while he regretted the crushed faith, the virtues laid low, and the mouldering energies of the Italian people, he foresaw the dawn of better days, when,

Thou, uprisen, shalt break the double yoke,
And enter, with prompt aid from the Most High,
On the third stage of thy great destiny.

Samuel Rogers was as deeply interested in the early stages of the Risorgimento. He passed the winter of 1814 in Italy, and seven years later he visited the country again, and at Bologna and Florence associated with Byron. Like Wordsworth on his first continental journey, he recorded his impressions in isolated sketches, which, somewhat revised, were later published under the title, *Italy*.⁴ In general, Rogers expressed only such conventional English sentiment as:

O Italy, how beautiful thou art!
Yet I could weep — for thou art lying, alas,
Low in the dust.

But his despair was relieved by hope;

Even now the flame
Bursts forth where once it burnt so gloriously.

³ *Poesie Italiane, tratte da una Stampa a Penna. For. Q. Rev.*, 36, pp. 179-196. 1846.

⁴ First published in 1822 and completed in 1834.

The same vision came to Richard Sharp, whose interest in Italy had been stirred by Rogers' poem. These three poets represent English sympathy in its earliest form; hopeless as it then might lie under Austrian rule, Italy would one day break the chains and expel the tyrant.⁵

A less conventional response would naturally be expected of Lord Byron, who lived longer in Italy than Rogers or Sharp, and who never failed to make a spectacular defence of liberty when the occasion arose. The fourth canto of *Childe Harold* contains pictures of Italian scenery not unlike those of Rogers' poem. The *Ode on Venice* looks back to the days when glory, empire, and freedom, "godlike Triad," held sway, and contrasts that with the degradation of the present. The same contrast underlies the fine *Prophecy of Dante*. These poems express their author's personality in their gloomy outlook on the future of nations, and their contempt for kings and the people who accept their "heritage of servitude and woes." Byron also strikes a familiar pose in his bitter condemnation of England and his openly avowed admiration of George Washington. The work, however, lacks something of his customary force, and a student of the Risorgimento turns from it with a feeling of disappointment.

Much more characteristic of Byron than any of these formal efforts, is a bit of impromptu verse written by him at Ravenna, in 1820, after the Austrian victory:⁶

When a man hath no freedom to fight for at home,
Let him combat for that of his neighbours;
Let him think of the glories of Greece and of Rome,
And get knock'd on the head for his labours.

To do good to mankind is the chivalrous plan
And is always as nobly required;
Then battle for freedom wherever you can
And, if not shot or hang'd, you'll get knighted.

In such flippant mood, Byron is always more convincing than in eloquent, heroic vein. One detects here the slur at England, the careless indifference to his own danger, and, behind the banter, a really admirable feeling for humanity.

The nobler side of Byron, as was often the case, was revealed by his actual deeds in Italy. He was there when the Neapolitans

⁵ *Richard Sharp to Samuel Rogers, Rome, April 21, 1824.*

⁶ *Works*, 5, pp. 111-112.

obtained the charter from Ferdinand, having remained longer than he had intended in expectation of "a regular rising and all that." The Spanish revolt, as he explained, had "set all Italy a constitutioning," and, since the Italians were not so submissive as the English, he looked forward expectantly to a "cutting of thrapples, and something like a civil buffeting."⁷ And at Ravenna in 1821 Byron passed through a still more exciting experience. He sat in his rooms the whole evening through expecting to hear gun shot on the streets, and anticipating, also, the use of his house as a place of refuge by the rebels. It was filled with arms bought by the Carbonari, who were ready to make him a scape-goat in case they were defeated and the forbidden arms were seized. His commerce with the rebels, moreover, was known to the police, and his movements were closely watched.⁸ Soon Byron's hopes were dashed, when "the Neapolitans . . . betrayed themselves and all the World." Byron imputed the fault to them alone; "the real Italians," he declared, "are not to blame—merely the scoundrels at the Heel of the Boot, which the Hun now wears." Admiring America, in spite of the coarseness of its people, Byron had hoped for a republic in Italy. But the Carbonari, lacking a real leader and any concerted plan of action, failed miserably, and Byron realized that he had simply been "taken in, like many others, by their demonstrations."⁹

There is ample evidence that Byron did not exaggerate the active part that he took in the uprising. After the Austrians had gained the upper hand, the inhabitants of Ravenna begged the poet to remain for the aid of the suspected patriots. Police records show that he was carefully watched as the chief fomentor of trouble. Young Italians made him their hero.¹⁰ Finally, Shelley has set this on record: "The interest which he took in the politics of Italy, and the actions he performed in consequence of it, are subjects not fit to be written, but are such as will delight and surprise you."¹¹ This whole chapter in Byron's life shows how disinterested, sincere, and keen-sighted he could be in action.

Shelley, as one might expect, played a less active rôle in the drama. Yet in a few poems, more finely than in Byron's, a deep in-

⁷ *Lord Byron's Correspondence*. J. Murray, ed. London, 1922. Vol. 2, pp. 141, 144, 153, 169.

⁸ *Works*, 5, pp. 158-205.

⁹ *Works*, 5, pp. 271, 403, 183, 188; *Correspondence*, 2, pp. 204, 141.

¹⁰ See *Memorie*, F. D. Guerazzi. *Westm. Rev.* 52, pp. 269-271. 1850.

¹¹ *Letters*. R. Ingpen, ed. London, 1912. Vol. 2, p. 893.

terest is evinced. Unfortunately, few readers know the little fragment, *To Italy*. The *Ode to Liberty* is better known; but it was inspired by the revolt in Spain. Only the gorgeously colored *Ode to Naples*, therefore, remains. Readers have not forgotten the beautiful picture of the "city disinterred" or the poet's impassioned address:

Thou which wert once, and then didst cease to be,
Now art, and henceforth ever shalt be, free,
If Hope, and Truth, and Justice can avail, —
Hail, hail, all hail.

The prophecy that follows, in the light of what actually happened, seems ill-timed. "The thrilling paean" sounds; Venice, Genoa, Milan, and Florence awake; and,

From eyes of quenchless hope
Rome tears the priestly cope.

But all this came years later, under the leadership of Piedmont, not of Naples. The *Ode*, therefore, is only another beautiful and ardent expression of Shelley's spirit.

To turn from the *Ode to Naples* to Shelley's letters is like dropping from some high altitude to the plain below. He had lived in Italy in 1818 and 1819 without being affected by the liberal movement. His first impression, in fact, had been unfavorable. "There are *two* Italies," he noted, "one composed of the green earth and transparent sea, and the mighty ruins of ancient time, and ærial mountains, and the warm and radiant atmosphere. . . . The other consists of the Italians of the present day." He regarded them as "a miserable people, without sensibility, or imagination, or understanding."¹² Then came the revolution in Naples to awaken Shelly with its mighty impulse, and a few months later, as "the prophesyings grew articulate," he composed his great ode.

After the failure of the Neapolitan uprising in 1821, in spite of sporadic trouble in other Italian states, interest in England waned until the great year of revolution, 1848. In that struggle, English sympathy was clearly with Piedmont. The Queen favored the Austrians, as she always did, and the Tory party looked askance at any overturning of established governments. "Really, it is quite immoral," Victoria declared, "for us to force Austria to give up her lawful possessions."¹³ The Liberals, however, favored the

¹² *Letters*, B. Ingpen, ed. Vol. 2, pp. 649, 610.

¹³ J. A. Farrer, *The Monarchy in Politics*. New York, 1917. P. 216.

cause, and Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Minister, was ever interested in the movements of oppressed nations against their despots. Yet Lord Palmerston found himself in a difficult position. With the Court distinctly hostile to his policies, and with a large party of even liberal Englishmen insisting on non-intervention, he was really forced into neutrality. To this he at first more readily acquiesced because he felt that Austria would be expelled without the intervention of England. But after the defeat of Novara, he lectured Piedmont for disregarding his counsel against war. So England remained neutral, and only gradually did the Italians learn that the country in general could wish to act and yet abstain from action.

The divergence in English opinion is plainly shown in two magazine articles. A hostile critic in the *Dublin University Magazine* emphasized the orderliness and prosperity of Milan under Austrian rule, and condemned the fury of the patriots.¹⁴ The Italians seemed to him incapable of self government, since "the practical, work-day, common sense habits of Englishmen are found nowhere." The more liberal view, however, was expressed by a writer in the *British Quarterly*.¹⁵ He censured outspokenly the shifting policy of Lord Palmerston in regard to Piedmont and the French occupation of Rome. England, he said, was the only power that "retained sentimentally the trace of a wish to see the people get fair play," and England had "hesitated and paltered about giving effect to that shadow of a wish." He advised, therefore, that Englishmen gain an accurate knowledge of Italy's wants, that they be not too insistent on the establishment of a monarchy in Piedmont like their own, and that they aid in the speedy extinction of the papacy. One reviewer took the official, Tory point of view; the other expressed popular opinion.

Of the English poets then, Mrs. Browning most directly voiced English sympathy. Up to the time of the revolution, the Tuscan duke, Leopold, had been more highly respected than any other Italian prince. When the storm broke, he fled for safety to Gaeta. But on the collapse of the revolt, he was recalled and at once invited the Austrians to reassume control. Newspapers were silenced and freedom of speech annulled, and in 1852 the constitution was revoked by the duke who had granted it. This is the historical background for *Casa Guidi Windows*.

¹⁴ Vol. 33, pp. 204-214. 1849.

¹⁵ Vol. 14, pp. 488-510. 1851.

In the first part of the poem, composed in 1848, is found the spirit of English liberalism, quickened and intensified by the author's feminine emotions. Prompted to write by the song of a child on the streets, "O bella libertà," she gave vent to her hope. Italy should no longer boast only of past glory; for,

Alas, this Italy has too long swept
Heroic ashes up for hour-glass sand,

and so had become,

No nation, but the poets' pensioner.

Italians must learn to live nobly in the present,

And plant the great Hereafter in this Now.

She described, then, the gathering of the populace before the windows of Casa Guidi, and the Duke's promise of a constitution;

O heaven, I think that day had noble use
Among God's days! So near stood Right and Law,
Both mutually forborne.

To the Duke and even to the Pope, she looked for help, as well as to England, whose part was to be a noble and peaceful influence toward freedom. She would have England,

Announce law
By freedom; exalt chivalry by peace,

and go forward, "helping, not humbling."

But the hope soon vanished. Piedmont was defeated at Novara, the Austrians returned to their Italian possessions, and Duke Leopold forgot his gracious promises. Then the second part of *Casa Guidi Windows* was written. Its despair is possibly as unreasoned and unrestrained as the exultation had been. She saw nothing but the cowardly betraying of freedom on the part of Duke and Pope, and the lack of quiet, thoughtful patriotism in the people. Possibly, the most impressive passages of the poem are found here. Nevertheless, the most notable feature of Part II is its changed attitude toward England. Mrs. Browning no longer thinks of peace, and condemns her country for avoiding a noble war.

In her letters, Mrs. Browning expressed much the same sentiments as she did in the poem. One reads of her first joy and then of her disgust. "I am mortified," she declared, "as an Italian ought to be." She called the Florentines talkers only, who go on "eating ices and keeping the feast of the Madonna." Both she

and her husband supported Napoleon III. in his *coup d'état*. But since they had not been long resident in Florence when these events took place, her emotions were not so deeply stirred as they were ten years later.¹⁶

Few of the critics attached a political importance to *Casa Guidi Windows*. The *Literary Gazette* expressed the hope that such music might long continue to come from Casa Guidi.¹⁷ A few magazines, however, were impelled to take sides either for or against Italy. The *Dublin University Magazine* argued that Italy was prosperous and contented under its rulers and that conditions had been made worse by the revolt.¹⁸ The *British Quarterly*, on the other hand, complained indignantly of England's treatment of Mazzini, and of the "mean, mercenary, and dishonourable" policy of Lord Palmerston. England, it believed, should aid in expelling the Austrians and in overthrowing the Pope.¹⁹ A more pertinent criticism in the *Eclectic Review* noticed Mrs. Browning's high and generous feeling and called her poem fresh and beautiful. Nevertheless, it censured her appeal to arms; for it believed that England could intervene more effectively by moral persuasion and financial pressure.²⁰ Seldom, however, did a critic see both the literary and the political import of the poem.

As Mrs. Browning was inspired by the crisis in Tuscany, so Clough wrote of the revolt in Rome, where he happened to be at the time. The hero, Claude, of the *Amours de Voyage* assumes the pose of ennui. He is bored by the city, for he found it "rubbishily," and by the family of mercantile English, and is somewhat chagrined at finding himself in love with one of the girls. In the most unheroic mood, he watches the soldiers, listens to the cannonading, and determines to hold aloof. He will not fight, for he owes his life to his own country, and he could not if he would, knowing nothing of the musket and its ways. Should he even risk his life, if the worst came, to save the British female? Probably not, for in his unsentimental age men do not "die for good manners." So the patriots lose, the hero lets his sweetheart escape him, and the poem ends. The indecision and acquiescence of Claude reveal Clough's own attitude toward life; the humor of the poem, half

¹⁶ *Letters*. F. G. Kenyon, ed. New York, 1899, pp. 400, 429, 383.

¹⁷ May 31, 1851, p. 372. See also *No. Am. E.*, 85, pp. 415-441. 1857.

¹⁸ Vol. 33, pp. 204-214. 1849.

¹⁹ Vol. 13, pp. 190, 196. 1851.

²⁰ Vol. 75, pp. 306 et seq. 1851.

cynical and half sincere, is the poet's own weapon against the intrusion of serious thoughts. Half apologetically, he offers his philosophy to,

Feeble and restless youths born to inglorious days.

From the humor and the cynicism of the *Amours de Voyage*, it is hard to deduce the poet's actual feelings. If Claude thought Mazzini noble, and if Georgina considered him dreadful, what was Clough's opinion? His reproach of England rings more true:

You, who a twelvemonth ago said nations must choose for themselves,
You could not of course interfere, — you, now, when a nation has chosen.

Equally sincere are the lyrics, *Peschiera* and *Alteram Partem*, written in memory of the fallen patriots:

Ah! not for idle hatred, not
For honour, fame, nor self-applause,
But for the glory of the cause,
You did, what will not be forgot.

Apparently, the serious-minded poet felt more deeply than the *Amours* reveal the lost hopes of Italy. That this is true, Clough's letters fully prove.²¹ Writing from Rome during the bombardment, he exhibited more perplexity than fear over the situation. "The world, perhaps in the same day, will lose the Vatican and me," he lightly observed. But his regrets were keen when the French entered the city and the Republic fell.

The political import of Clough's poem received more notice than that of *Casa Guidi Windows*. *Macmillan's Magazine* spoke bitterly of Lord Normandy and the English newspapers that regarded the hopes of Italy as a "blackguard Chimera, a mad dream."²² In the *Christian Remembrancer*, passages from Clough's letters are adduced to explain the poem, and the writer suggests that French intervention was only a means of keeping Austria out of Rome.²³ This increased interest in England was due chiefly to the inclusion of two new issues and the outspoken indignation of one great man. In Rome the old question of the two churches was uppermost. England had come to suspect that the liberalism of Pius IX was designed to win its favor, and resented his scheming for new footholds. Napoleon, furthermore, was a name that still caused fear. To have the Emperor in Rome meant

²¹ *Poems and Remains*. London, 1869. Vol. 1, pp. 140-164.

²² Vol. 6, p. 330. 1860.

²³ *Liv. Age*, 76, p. 409. 1863.

for many Englishmen the upsetting of peace in Europe, and Lord Palmerston's tacit sanction of the *coup d'état* brought about his removal. So England's fear of France greatly moderated a natural sympathy for Italy. Finally, Gladstone's indignation over Bourbon tyranny in Naples enhanced the feeling of partizanship in England.

In the autumn of 1850, Gladstone with his family visited southern Italy. As a follower of Lord Aberdeen and a staunch supporter of established government, he had been, up to that time, quite unaffected by Italy's hopes. But in Naples he saw for himself the meaning of Bourbon despotism. It was "the negation of God erected into a system of government." In his indignation he published two open letters to Lord Aberdeen.²⁴ He told of the illegal arrests, the farcical trials, and the cruel imprisonments that he had actually seen in Naples. The letters, appearing when sentiment ran high against Catholicism, brought a quick response. That a man of Gladstone's standing, who had never cared anything for Italian unity, and who had declared that the English people cared as little, should take this open stand and plead, moderately and circumstantially, for the sufferers, convinced many. Conservatives all over Europe, like Guizot, called him a revolutionist; but liberal papers for almost the first time praised him, and even the *Times* was forced to join the protest.

For such reasons English sympathy for Italy toward the year 1859 became more general and outspoken. The change is revealed in several articles in the *Dublin University Magazine*. In 1849, the reviewer believed that the Italians feared the patriots more than the Austrians. Three years later, in a less caustic article, comment was made on the growing sympathy in England and on the vacillating policy of the ministry. The author still distrusted the extremists of 1849, those "wild and impractical apostles of French democracy;" but he respected the program of the moderates in Piedmont. The review, in short, is bitter against Lord Palmerston, who might have done so much, and who in reality had done nothing, for the wronged land. But even this writer looked on the idea of Italian unity as chimerical. Finally, in 1859, a third article appeared. Despite all the Tories might say, its author believed that the Italian peoples were sufficiently homogeneous to form a nation, and that to prevent the union would be a political crime.

²⁴ Republished in *Gleanings from Past Years*.

He condemned many British papers for their insolence, and was ready to admit that the French had more right to be in Rome than the Austrians had to remain in other parts of the country. Here one sees the changing sentiment of the English people.²⁵

A still further impetus was given to England's avowal of sympathy by the Council of Paris, following the Crimean War. After the main business of the congress was dispatched, the whole Italian question was presented for informal discussion. Lord Clarendon denounced the government in the papal states with a bitterness that quite satisfied Cavour. That statesman was soon brought to realize, by a short visit to England, that, in spite of Lord Clarendon's vague promises, he could expect no active aid there. English diplomats, in short, recognized Austria as their strongest ally against France and Russia. The Queen, of course, held to Austria, and Lord Derby, who succeeded Lord Palmerston, insisted on the *status quo*. But it meant much that Italy's wrongs had been aired in open council by an English peer.

Yet when the war of 1859 finally broke out, in spite of the efforts of British diplomacy to preserve peace, several fears kept English people from more generally siding with the liberal cause. The old dread of Napoleon again told. Furthermore, it was commonly rumored that the Emperor had some end to gain, as indeed he had, in joining forces with Piedmont. These facts account for the reception accorded Mrs. Browning's *Poems before Congress* and Swinburne's *Songs before Sunrise*.

Readers familiar with *Casa Guidi Windows* turn from *Poems before Congress* with dissatisfaction. Their note is shrill, and the verse is rough. The poem on Napoleon, written to the refrain, "Emperor Evermore," bestows the most extreme laudation on the ruler. His support of Piedmont hardly belongs, among human deeds of sacrifice,

To the wonderful, unpermitted,
For such as lead and reign.

The *Tale of Villafranca* is better. With bitter disappointment the poet puts this apology in her hero's mouth:

The world is many, — I am one;
My great Deed was too great.

The Dance and *Court Lady* are sentimental and theatrical. Only

²⁵ Vol. 33, pp. 204-214; 40, pp. 85-92; 39, pp. 329-338; 53, pp. 221-226; 64, pp. 628-638.

An August Voice is strong, and even it succeeds through the deserved sarcasm of the refrain, "You'll call back the Grand-duke." The *Curse of a Nation*, finally, is angry scolding that puzzled and angered Englishmen at the time and means little to-day. All the poems are marred by prosaic lines, poor rhymes, and serious lapses in taste.

From Mrs. Browning's letters one gets a more precise idea of her emotions during the war of 1859. She once called it the happiest period of her life. And if the Emperor's desertion at Villafranca left her broken hearted, as biographers say, despair does not appear in her correspondence. She declared that Napoleon's hand had been forced, and prophesied that he would still see Italy free. "Never was a greater or more disinterested deed intended and almost completed."²⁶

There were periodicals in England that sympathized with Mrs. Browning. The *Westminster Review*, for example, credited France with defending "humanity and the right of Progress," while the *Spectator* hinted that her glorification of the French emperor was not more false "than the common, anti-Napoleonic hypothesis in England." *Macmillan's Magazine*, also, admitted that Mrs. Browning, from her secluded post, saw some things deeply and with a noble heart.²⁷ But the court was still hostile to Italy's interests, and, in spite of popular feeling, English reviews were censorious. The *Saturday Review* spoke of Mrs. Browning's "ill-judged dithyrambics on the war of 1859." Of the poems the *Spectator* declared flatly: "here we have sixty-five pages that never should have been printed." The reviewer objected to the obscurity of her expression, as well as to the "paroxysm of chronic adoration" shown for Napoleon. So also the *Athenaeum*, which in 1851 had called *Casa Guidi Windows* "courageous and wise," forsook her here. "Her old friends and admirers," it observed, "can but thank the gods for her poetry, and leave her politics to those who have stomach for them." There is much justice, indeed, in the general criticism: "choosing to scold, she forgets to sing." But it was in the Tory *Blackwood's Magazine* that the most savage review appeared.²⁸ Wilson laid it down as "a good and wholesome rule that women

²⁶ *Letters*, F. G. Kenyon, ed. Vol. 2, pp. 327, 329, 361.

²⁷ *Westm. R.*, 72, pp. 215-242. 1859; *Spec.*, quoted from *Liv. Age*, 70, p. 490. 1861. *Macm. M.*, 4, pp. 402-404. 1861.

²⁸ *Sat. R.*, quoted from *Liv. Age*, 70, p. 491. 1861; *Spec.*, Mar. 31, 1860, pp. 309-310; *Ath.*, June 7, 1851, p. 597, Mar. 17, 1860, p. 371; *Blackw.*, 87, pp. 490-494. 1860.

should not interfere with politics." "Of all imaginable inflictions and torments," he exclaimed, "defend us from a domestic female partisan;" for "to reason they will not listen; to argument they are utterly impervious." More than any other, this review of *Poems before Congress* angered Robert Browning.

In 1861 William Stigant published in *The Temple Bar* a poem entitled, *Italia Rediviva*, which is clearly reminiscent of *Adonais*. Like Shelley's are its personifications of Youth, Freedom, Love, Poesy, and Hope, who,

Cried exultingly,
When from the clangour of War's sulphurous reek
The Austrian vulture flew with shatter'd plume and beak.

A tinge of Shelley's morbidness is added in the third stanza:

And all the radiant forms of Truth
Came from afar to see the glorious thrall
Clad in the splendour of her deathless Youth,
Unstained by bondage and the things which crawl
In slimy stealth upon the dungeon-wall.
Each Emanation of the Eternal Flame,
The Poet-dreams, the fair creations all,
Glories, and wingèd ministers of Fame,
Winnowing the infinite air, around Italia came.

So these personified forms gather about Italia, who, with a look forward from the dark past, sees distant hope. She calls on her own sons to save her, for already there was,

Enough of *thy* blood on our Lombard plains,
O France! chivalric sister.

Only a few years later, in 1867, the *Fortnightly Review* published Swinburne's *Ode on the Insurrection in Candia*. It marked a turning point in his brilliant career; for it brought about his introduction to Mazzini, who, in turn, inspired the poet to new and loftier themes. Never before was a change more conspicuous. Spenser and Donne lived to renounce their early work; but Swinburne's transformation was more sudden and spectacular. He severed his connections with the Pre-Raphaelites, abandoned the study of passion, and turned to exalt the cause of liberty and to consider the whole purpose of life. Some of his finest poetry is contained in *Songs before Sunrise*.

Yet the profession of a nobler theme that Swinburne makes in the *Prelude*, at first sight is hardly borne out in *The Eve of Revolution*. The opening stanza is filled with the old confusion of passionate,

physical imagery and exaggeration. Nevertheless, it possesses new power. "I set the trumpet to my lips and blow," the poet says; and, as he looks forward, the night is broken, strangely enough, in all directions. Unlike *Blessed among Women*, this poem is not marred by a lack of simple dignity but gains as it moves toward its close. Less beautiful, but stronger, is *A Watch in the Night*. The roll call of the nations is especially effective. England, France, Germany, Europe — for each reproach or denunciation; but for Italy hope:

Yet I perceive on the height
Eastward, not now very far,
A song too loud for the lark,
A light too strong for a star;

and Liberty boldly declares:

Night, with the woes that it wore,
Night is over and done.

This, of course, was premature. As Swinburne had been forced temporarily to recall the *Song of Italy*, so this, too, he had to retract in the *Halt before Rome*:

Is it so that the light was a spark,
That the bird we hailed as the lark
Sang in her sleep in the dark,
And the song we took for a token
Bore false witness of dawn?

One may wonder how rightly Swinburne estimated his contribution to the cause. "How shall we die to do thee service or how live?" he had asked. The songs which were his answer had possibly no effect on English diplomats. The poet regarded his country as bereft of its old spirit and selfish in its security. He compared it to what it had been in Puritan times. The arraignment in *An Appeal* is unusually strong. But there is almost no suggestion of definite policy in any of the poems, except the condemnation of the principle of non-intervention. It is in appeal or prophecy, rather than in counsel, that Swinburne is strongest. The final appeal of *The Eve of Revolution*; the hopeful close of *A Watch in the Night*; the glowing prophecy of *A Marching Song*, are of his best. To them one might add *Sienna*. Beginning in beautiful description as a setting for the old legend of Saint Catherine, it goes on to the appeal, "Let there be light, O Italy," and closes with the noble thought:

Till the inner heart of man be one
 With freedom, and the sovereign sun;
 And Time, in likeness of a guide,
 Lead the Republic as a bride
 Up to God's side.

Swinburne no where else rose to such levels of thought as in this collection. And the seed, remember, was of Mazzini's sowing. The exile's strongest hope was for a republic, with Rome its capital. He distrusted kings and popes and pinned his faith on the masses. But having derived his philosophy from sounder sources than the ideology of the eighteenth century, Mazzini did not expect liberty to bring at once perfect justice. Collective effort, born of love, toward the betterment of humanity, is man's noblest duty and his surest approach to God.²⁹ Swinburne was more individualistic than Mazzini in his philosophy; for he learned of Landor, too, who remained to the end a child of the French Revolution. But in the noblest of these poems, the *Pilgrims*, *Hertha*, the *Hymn to Man*, and *Tenebrae*, he beautifully expressed the essential philosophy of Mazzini.

That such heated republicanism as Swinburne's met with but scant response from English reviews is not strange. The *Athenaeum* censured the *Song of Italy* for its obscurity and disapproved of the mixture of pantheism and republicanism in *Songs before Sunrise*. The *Temple Bar* found the *Song of Italy* sheer incoherence, while the *Saturday Review* regarded it as "an angry scream of defiance against authority of every kind." In this article the reviewer is more specific than others in his criticism. He justly complains that Swinburne says nothing in praise of Cavour, and that his poems lack in thought as conspicuously as they revel in carnal passion. Possibly it was the same critic who resumed the subject in 1871, embittered by the poet's denunciation of England.³⁰ While others had been toiling for the right, the poet had been wasting his splendid gifts in songs of lust. The review centers its attack, therefore, on the irreverence, indecency, and republicanism of the poems.

Swinburne was one of the last English poets to express his interest in the Italian cause. Walter Savage Landor represents in his

²⁹ W. B. D. Henderson, *Swinburne and Landor*, pp. 182 et seq.

³⁰ *Ath.*, Apr. 6, 1867, pp. 446-448, Jan. 14, 1871, pp. 41-42; *Temple Bar*, 26, p. 472. 1869; *Sat. R.*, Apr. 20, 1867, pp. 503-504, Jan. 14, 1871, pp. 54-55.

long career both the earlier and the later phases of English sympathy. He had been a contemporary of Byron and Shelley,

Whose song so sweet was sweetest here;

yet he lived to address to Louis Napoleon the questions:

Can there be pleasure to keep down
In rusty chains a struggling town?
Can there be any to hear boom
Your cannon o'er the walls of Rome?

And before Landor's death the work of unification was almost complete.

There must necessarily be, in consequence, some inconsistency in Landor's opinions. He remained to the end a disciple of the Revolution, and carried on through the greater part of the nineteenth century the blind faith in liberty that the eighteenth century acclaimed. Liberty was a blessing to be seized, not attained to, and from it would spring the ideal of human life. The poem, *Tyrannicide*, has nothing in common with Mazzini's sound understanding of freedom. "Danger is not in action, but in sloth," the poem begins, and it ends with the appeal:

See o'er the desert God's red pillar tower!
Follow, ye Nations! raise
The hymn to God!

Although Landor never outgrew these earlier ideals, he incorporated better than his ardent disciple the saner ideas of the later generation. He appreciated the real weakness of Mazzini, it seems, here:

And could not you, Mazzini! wait awhile?
The grass is wither'd, but shall spring again.

He accepted gratefully the good that Charles Albert had done, and was willing to see all Italy united under the leadership of Piedmont.

Toward England Landor took much the same view as Mrs. Browning and the other poets. He looked with pity on rulers and distrusted the ways of diplomacy. Better, he declared, to enjoy the beauty of Italian scenery,

Than roughly wear life's waning day
On rotten forms with Castlereagh.

The heroism of Milton's and Cromwell's England came to his mind, and he contrasted Lord Palmerston's fear of intervention with the

boldness of the Commonwealth, when "Cromwell sign'd what Milton saw was good," and when England's protest counted for much.

This is the attitude of Landor the poet. His *Imaginary Conversations*, in so far as they can be said to reveal his own opinions, show the same trend of thought.³¹ But the finest expression of Landor's sympathy for Italy is given in the poem, *Regeneration*. "We are what suns and winds and waters make us," it begins. But where tyranny rules, all is altered;

Then Justice, call'd the Eternal One above,
Is more inconstant than the buoyant form
That burst into existence from the froth
Of ever-varying ocean: what is best
Then becomes worst; what loveliest, most deformed.

So Italy seems now to "rot away amid her slime," while "degenerate Albion" sits unconcerned,

Pushing forth the sponge
At the spear's length, in mockery at the thirst
Of holy Freedom in his agony.

But in Italy already "regenerate Man hath risen," and Landor exults "at hope's fresh dayspring." The poem has exceptional dignity and moderation, and a unity that neither Mrs. Browning nor Swinburne could achieve. The ardent patriot, whose hatred of tyranny was so intemperate, here masters his feeling and speaks with fine composure.

Alfred Austin serves as another link between the earlier and the later stages of the Risorgimento. He was in Italy in 1863, while French troops were still in Rome, and at Shelley's grave his thoughts went back to the dead poet. He understood the present, also, as Swinburne did not. Even after Aspromonte, when news came that Garibaldi had been defeated and captured, he prophesied success. So his poetry carries the reader to the end of the struggle.

Austin's most important contribution to the subject of the Risorgimento was the long poem, *The Human Tragedy*. A portion of the first act appeared in 1862 with that title. It was written with the flippancy and discursiveness of *Don Juan*, and ends in an episode quite out of keeping with the poem as a whole. Then *Rome or Death* appeared in 1870, a poem which now stands as the third act of the completed work. Finally, in 1876, the whole was

³¹ See especially *Cardinal Antonelli and General Gemeau*.

recast and added to, and was published as the four-act play, *The Human Tragedy*.

The plot of the dramatic poem need hardly be outlined. The first act is a love story with an English setting. In the second act, the hero joins the ranks of the patriots and fights in the campaigns of Magenta and Solferino. The third act describes the campaign of Garibaldi before Mentana. Finally, in the closing act, the scene changes to Paris in the time of the Commune. The story is trite and overloaded with description, and the action, even though Austin saw the actual fighting, is vivid only in part. The real tragedy of life, as one learns at the end, lies in the fact that all human aspirations are but dreams. And man's real happiness, as Mazzini had taught, lies in the service of humanity.

Another late poem, Mrs. Harriet King's *Disciples*, was published in 1873. It gives the story of Ugo Bassi, who, after long and effective service in the church, became a follower of Garibaldi. He was wounded at Treviso, was later captured by the Austrians, and was shot in 1849. The poem contains some bits of good description and some remarkable episodes. But the activities of Garibaldi are given in too much detail, and there are too many digressions in the story.

The *Disciples* was written after the unification of Italy was completed; but it was planned earlier, so directly under Mazzini's inspiration that Mrs. King confessed:

I know there is no line but must have passed
Some time or other through his brain to mine.

Swinburne, therefore, was not the only poet whose services Mazzini enlisted in the cause. But Mrs. King worked so slowly that the patriot had died before the *Disciples* appeared.

Neither Austin's poems nor Mrs. King's were much noticed in English reviews. The *Quarterly Review* called attention to the plain influence of Byron on the *Human Tragedy*, and as rightly complained of the lack of action. In the *Dublin Review*, a Catholic writer objected to the poet's giving all praise to Garibaldi and only opprobrious epithets to the French, who, he thought, were fighting sincerely for their faith.³² In noticing the *Disciples*, one reviewer held that a prose memoir would have been more convincing, and objected to the roughness of the verse. He attributed the fault to

³² *Quar. R.*, 144, pp. 499-514. 1877; *Dub. R.*, 79, pp. 155-182. 1876.

Browning's example. He might also have noticed the equally plain influence of Tennyson in such lines as these:

Lo, from behind the clouds
The moon comes suddenly, and all the night
Shines out in silver; and I came at last
To a clear water's edge, a broad still stream,
With one calm, onward ripple, breaking here
Before me in the moonlight on the sands,
The smooth white sands that make a level shore.

Another critic objected to the long digressions. But Italy's freedom was so nearly won that these late poems roused no real protest.³³

After 1870, in fact, English poetry on Italy could have no political significance. In the stirring events of the *Risorgimento*, much material for fiction, such as *The Gadfly* and *Vittoria*, lay imbedded. But later poets and novelists, looking backward as historical writers always do, have understood it more justly than their predecessors. Where Mrs. Browning, for example, was misled by the promises of Napoleon III., Alfred Austin, some few years later, easily saw his real duplicity. These later works belong to literature rather than to politics, and were so considered by the reviews. The period of retrospect and evaluation, in other words, had come. But these poems that have been considered express the best of English character. Diplomacy was swayed by ignoble motives; the reviews often had other interests to consider; only the poets were free to express the finer sensibilities of the English nation. No one of them spoke more finely than George Meredith in the *Centenary of Garibaldi*:

We who have seen Italia in the throes,
Half risen but to be hurled to ground, and now
Like a ripe field of wheat where once drove plough
All bounteous as she is fair, we think of those

Who blew the breath of life into her frame:
Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi: Three:
Her Brain, her Soul, her Sword; and set her free
From ruinous discords, with one lustrous aim.

³³ *Ath.*, Jan. 10, 1874, p. 51; *Spec.*, Jan. 24, 1874, pp. 115-116.

SOME UNPUBLISHED VERSE OF ARMENDARIZ

By JOHN M. HILL
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Of the Spanish poet and dramatist, Julian de Armendariz, little is known. Professor Rosenberg, in his edition of the author's *Las Bvrlas veras*,¹ has utilized all documents concerning Armendariz that have thus far come to light and has given us the best outline of the life of the poet whom Gallardo² characterizes thus: *Armendariz es escritor puro, propio, castizo, y uno de nuestros más aventajados ingenios.*

It is not easy to determine whether Gallardo derived his judgment solely from the *Patron Salamantino* which he is describing or whether he took into account also other verse by the author. That he had the opportunity to read such other verse is evident by a subsequent entry, Vol. I, no. 1050, where the name *Almendariz*³ occurs in the catalogue of poets figuring in a seventeenth-century manuscript. Gallardo published many selections⁴ from the manuscript in question. One wonders why, if he held the author in such high esteem, he failed to include some samples of his poetic power.

The manuscript briefly described by Gallardo is to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid and bears the reference-number *Ms. 3700*. The poems by Armendariz found therein have never, so far as we have been able to ascertain, been published heretofore. Moreover, it seems probable that no other identified or identifiable compositions of the sort by Armendariz are to be found. Speci-

¹ *Comedia famosa de Las Bvrlas veras de Iulian de Armendariz*, Edited . . . by S. L. Millard Rosenberg. Philadelphia, 1917. See Introduction, pp. 36-53.

² *Ensayo*, I, no. 276.

³ In the author's only printed work, *Patron Salamantino*, his name appears as *Armendariz*. Lope de Vega, in his letter to the Duque de Sessa (quoted by La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, p. 134), uses the form *Almendares*. Cervantes, in the *Viaje del Parnaso*, writes *Almendarez*. The manuscript from which the verses published herewith are taken writes *Almendaris*.

⁴ *Ensayo*, I, cols. 1027-1060.

mens of the work of a writer at once reviled and lauded by the two greatest figures in the history of Spanish letters, Cervantes and Lope de Vega, must always be of value to the student of Spanish literature. In the case of a writer like Armendariz, of whose literary output next to nothing has survived, even the merest trifles are worthy of attention.

In the compositions printed herewith the text of the manuscript is given without emendation. Only capitals and punctuation have been supplied.

DE ALMENDARIZ

Ms. Bib. Nac. 3700

Lloro, señora, y no entiendo
el mal que me prebenis,
pues vos confision me pedis
quando me dexais muriendo.
El frenesi ba creçiendo
al paso de la ynclemencia;
mas quiero tener paçiencia,
avnques nueba confision
que de vuestra avsoluçion
aga yo la penitencia.

f. 69 v.

Dezis que en la yglesia entrays
con animo de asolueros;
yo pienso que a rretraeros,
porque muerto me dejays.
Mas quando a la yglesia vays,
bed que vuestras manos vellas
entran bertiendo çentellas
que en sagrado a matar salen,
que las yglesias no valen
a quien mata dentro en ellas.

Al tienpo que os confeseis,
sera razon adbertir
que abeis de rrestituyr
el alma que me debeys.
Y quando en la yglesia esteys
no abeis del todo escapado,
como ya lo han declarado
mis penosos desconuelos,
que amor con bara de çelos
suele prender en sagrado.

f. 70 r.

Solo pretendo adbertiros
que fuera çierto el perdon,
si para esta confision

tubierades mis suspiros.
 No se a fe como deziros
 sospechas que sabe dios,
 y al fin, para entre los dos,
 que es la confision temi
 mas por condenarme a mi
 que por salbaros a vos.

Del mismo.

Del Tormes vine a cantar
 orillas de mançanares,
 avnque para mis pesares
 mejor me fuera llorar.
 Mas ya me quiero alentar,
 y pues se que os doy contento,
 quando al son de mi ynstrumento
 salgo a cantar nobedades,
 salud y graçia sepades,
 que bengo a dezir verdades.

Ay en Madrid de hordinario
 faores por ynteresses,
 con mas tajos y rrebesses
 que la pluma de vn falsario;
 y para el señor Datario
 ay terçios de señorias,
 porque ban las terçerias
 con titulo de amistades.
 Salud, etc.

Ay casadas peligrosas,
 porque son taças penadas;
 ay donzellas encaladas
 y caladas melindrosas.
 Ay cortesanas briosas,
 y entre lienços y paredes
 ay biejas con que lloredas
 y niñas con que rriades.
 Salud, etc.

Ay poetas celebrados
 con justa causa famosos,
 y poetas enbidiosos
 que presumen de ynbidiados.
 Ay otros menos pensados
 de pensamientos criollos,
 y que alegan por lo pollos
 pollinas autoridades.
 Salud, etc.

f. 70 v.

Ay corridos murmurantes,
 ay señores murmurados,
 ay penitentes casados
 que traen cruces de diamantes.
 Ay discretos maleantes,
 en cuyas conversaciones
 ay onças de discreçiones
 y arrobas de neçedades.
 Salud, *etc.*

Busconas very (*sic*) tapar
 de quien todos se hazen cruces,
 que passan entre dos luzes
 como quartos por sellar.
 Van de noche a canpear,
 porque se gastan a escuras
 sus pigmeas estaturas
 y sus gigantass edades.
 Salud, *etc.*

Prestados suelen pedir
 caualleros cortesanos,
 enfermos de vesamanos,
 que nunca sauen cunplir.
 Lindo humor al rreciuir,
 mas quando la paga llega,
 no tiene el zierço enoruega (*sic*)
 tan eladas sequedades.
 Salud, *etc.*

La viuda bergonçosa,
 toca y mongil de picaça,
 con lagrimas de mostaça,
 sale picante y llorosa;
 pero en su mesa biçiosa
 ay gigote de señores,
 pepitoria de priores,
 y picadilla de abades.
 Salud, *etc.*

El marido al vso rriñe f. 71 r.
 con su muger doña gueca,
 porque en lugar de la rrueca
 petrina de perlas çifñe.
 El gusta de que se aliñe,
 y es, quando mas disimula,
 compañero de la mula
 que pintan las nauidades.
 Salud, *etc.*

De Almendariz

Avnque le pese a tu madre,
no me oluides, niña hermosa,
que lo que agora te quita
tubo algun tiempo por gloria.
Y dila, si te apurare,
que deje a tu edad dichosa
dar al tiempo lo que es suyo
y querer a quien te adora;
que no ay deseo tan libre
que al fin vna vez v otra
aya dado Amor tributo
con el alma y con las obras.
El tiempo pasa ligero;
la que es ya vieja fue moça:
coge la flor de tus años
antes que el tiempo la coja.
Y labrando a tu almoadilla,
o quando estes mas a solas,
canta a tu madre esta letra,
y tomala de memoria:

Madre mia, no me rriña,
que no e de ser siempre niña.

Aora que la rrazon
y la edad me ofrecen gloria,
quiero gozar la vitoria
y no perder la ocasion.
Degeme que sin pasion
coja el fruto de mi bifa,
que no e de ser siempre niña.

MARLOWE'S *EDWARD II*¹

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The critical problem involved in a discussion of Marlowe's play, *Edward II*, is so obvious that it needs no long exposition. Of the five plays principally associated with the name of Marlowe, *Tamberlaine Part 1*, *Tamberlaine Part 2*, *The Jew of Malta*, *Faustus*, and *Edward II*, the first four have pronounced characteristics which the fifth lacks. In each of the first four there is one dominating figure whose development gives whatever unity there is to the play, and the other characters are so subordinate as to be almost negligible. In the first four the action seems a framework on which to hang magnificent outbursts of declamation, so magnificent that mere sound almost usurps the place of drama. In wonderful speeches you find what Symonds has defined as "l'amour de l'impossible," an out-reaching after the super-human. But *Edward II* is not like this. In the place of one dominating figure, the situation is correctly expressed by the title of the quarto of 1598: *The troublesome raigne and lamentable death of Edward the second, King of England: with the tragicall fall of proud Mortimer: And also the life and death of Peirs Gaueston, the great Earle of Cornewall, and mighty favorite of king Edward the second.* . . . The editor of the quarto was not clear in his own mind who is the protagonist. In its conception, then, *Edward II* differs radically. But so does it also in its treatment. The long speeches are gone, and the verse shows dramatic restraint. "The change (between the style of *Tamberlaine*, 1587-1588, and that of *Edward II*,) is almost comparable with that which Milton's style underwent between *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes*. One notes inevitably the increase in dramatic appropriateness and power, the new sense of the effect of plain details and modest statement, the dropping away of all rhetorical devices; alliteration, sonorous

¹ A paper read at the Conference of British and American Professors of English in New York, June, 1923.

line-endings, figure, and allusion."² As Marlowe died in 1593, if *Edward II* is subsequent to *Tamberlaine*, as always assumed, the interval between the composition of the two pieces could not have been more than six years; *Comus* appeared in 1637 and *Samson Agonistes* in 1671. In other words, then, the development in Marlowe's style during a period that cannot possibly be more than six years is comparable to that of Milton during a period of thirty-four years of the most intense kind of mental exertion. Other factors being equal, this would have been a phenomenal development. And lastly *Edward II* has nothing in common with the loosely constructed chronicle play: "Marlowe has definitely abandoned the principle of the survey; the list of his omissions, taken by itself, is almost sufficient proof of that fact, and there is abundant confirmatory evidence."³ We find here, then, the anomaly that a play, unquestionably by a given author, is in important respects both unlike his other known work and unlike analogous work by his contemporaries.

To account for this condition three explanations, not mutually exclusive, have been offered. The first is that *Edward II* represents Marlowe's maturity due to the fact that it is a very late work. But this is pure hypothesis. Actually we know nothing of the date of composition. Marlowe died June 1, 1593. This play was entered on the Stationers' Books July 6, 1593; the dates of the quartos run 1593(?), 1594, 1598, 1612, 1622. The hypothetical date, 1590-1, is posited owing to the stylistic peculiarities. Curiously enough those peculiarities scarcely appear in the *Massacre at Paris*, the play by Marlowe and Nash. That must have been written at approximately the same time, since it mentions the assassination of Henry of Valois, which occurred August 2, 1589. However mutilated the text, if any part of the *Massacre* is by Marlowe, one would expect some indication of the change so apparent in *Edward II*, a change due, by hypothesis, to his development. It may be questioned here whether we are not arguing in a circle; we deduce the maturity from the style, and proceed to explain the style by the maturity.

The second reason to account for this change is that the choice of subject was dictated by public demand. There is no question that

² Marlowe's *Versification and Style*, by Tucker Brooke, *Studies in Philology*, XIX, 2, April, 1922.

³ Marlowe's *Edward II*, by William Dinsmore Briggs, 1914, cix.

after the repulse of the Spanish Armada in 1588 there followed an interest in the facts of English history and a pride in national achievement. The playwrights were quick to take advantage of this; a long series of chronicle plays followed. But the choice of Edward II seems curious, both from the standpoint of the audience and that of the author. The historical Edward can scarcely be listed among England's glories; in fact, the events of his life were sufficiently malodorous, in spite of the tragedy of his end, to have him excluded from that all-embracing compendium, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, until the edition of 1610. To regale an audience proud of its past with the life of Edward seems a bit of sardonic humor.

A third explanation has been suggested, that Marlowe had sympathy for Edward's sexual perversion. That such sexual perversion occurs in the play is plainly stated, more plainly than in either Fabian or Holinshed. Yet the play is by no means a study of sexual perversion. It is quite possible that we of today emphasize a trait that was somewhat casual in the Renaissance. It would be impossible for an admirer of Cinquecento Italy to escape knowledge of its existence, and allusions to the "ingle" in other Elizabethans than Marlowe suggest that the whole subject was not so shocking as it seems now. The most obvious allusion to it is an apology in the mouth of the Elder Mortimer:

Nephew, I must to Scotland; thou stayest here.
Leave now t'oppose thyself against the king.
Thou seest by nature he is mild and calm,
And, seeing his mind so doats on Gaveston,
Let him without controulment have his will.
The mightiest kings have had their minions:
Great Alexander loved Hephestion;
The conquering Hercules for Hylas wept,
And for Patroclus stern Achilles drooped.
And not kings only, but the wisest men:
The Roman Tully loved Octavius;
Grave Socrates, wild Alcibiades.
Then let his Grace, whose youth is flexible,
And promiseth as much as we can wish,
Freely enjoy that vain, light-headed earl,
For riper years will wean him from such toys.

To this the reply of Young Mortimer is

Uncle, his wanton humour grieves not me.

As this line seems to epitomize the attitude of the play on this

subject, the reason for the choice of subject seems farther afield.

In fact, in the other aspects also, it seems probable that the modern critic reads into the play more than was intended by the author or perceived by the audience. Today the action breaks into halves. As Briggs phrases it: "In the first the king is the culprit — in the second, the martyr; in the first the nobles are just judges — in the second, unjust and cruel executioners. In the first, again, our sympathy goes out to the injured queen and the insulted barons. In the second, however, it is quite as inevitably cast with the suffering king. Here is a problem in the degeneration of character that Marlowe appears hardly to have solved with dramatic success."⁴ The question at once arises whether to the sixteenth century mind there would have appeared such a problem, whether to them there was any "degeneration" of character, whether as a matter of fact the entire play is not unified. The modern mind fails to realize the divinity that doth hedge about a king, but Elizabeth certainly appreciated it. It is impossible for us to comprehend the feeling that causes Amintor in *The Maid's Tragedy* to lower his blade from the breast of the king who has so cruelly wronged him. He is physically unable to kill the *King*. Yet according to Brantome much the same situation occurred in the court of François Premier. When the barons threaten and insult Edward, certainly the sympathy of the sixteenth century audience would be with the King, since the motive for their action, his favoritism, would not have been regarded as it is today. The habits of Henri of Valois are too well-known to need comment, and yet in the *Massacre* it is he that is held up as the friend of England. The sixteenth century Englishman, moreover, did not need to go to France to find examples; Elizabeth's own court with Leicester, Hatton, and Raleigh, could sufficiently illustrate the inconvenience of rewarding a favorite for questionable service. And, since in the last analysis the complaint of the barons against Edward was that he gave Gaveston what they expected to receive, to the London audience it was irrational, because the granting of such rewards was a perquisite of the Crown. The conception of a state distinct from the personality of the monarch, although adumbrated by More, was not generally understood. Therefore, however injudicious may seem Edward's gifts to Gaveston, the audi-

⁴ *Op. cit.* cviii.

ence would not have regarded them as unjust. This is the position of Holinshed:

All these miseries and manie more happened not only to him, but also to the whole state of the realme, in that he wanted judgement and prudent discretion to make choice of sage and discreet counsellors, receiving those into his favour, that abused the same to their private gaine and advantage, not respecting the advancement of the commonwealth, so they themselves might attaine to riches and honour for which they onelie sought, in somuch by their covetuous rapine, spoile and immoderate ambition, the hearts of the common people & nobilitie were quite estranged from the dutifull love and obedience which they ought to have shewed to their sovereigne, going about by force to wrest him to follow their wils, and to seeke the destruction of them whome he commonlie favoured, wherein suerlie they were worthie of blame, and to tast (as manie of them did) the deserved punishment for their disobedient and disloyall demeanours.⁵

Somewhat the same point of view may be taken in regard to Edward's treatment of his queen; fidelity to the queen has not been a virtue common to many monarchs, and public opinion tolerated license to a degree inexplicable today. Therefore it seems probable that the London audience saw in the play what Holinshed terms "certain light crimes" rather than the "more heinous vices" of the Chronicle.

Two incidents from the beginning of the play may serve to illustrate this point. Holinshed records briefly the fact that, when the Lord Treasurer, Walter de Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was going towards Westminster, he was upon commandment of the new king arrested, committed to prison, and afterwards delivered into the hands of Gaveston. "His lands and tenelements were seized to the kings use, but his moveables were given to the aforesaid Peers." In the play the emphasis is changed from the Lord Treasurer to the Bishop. He appears in full pontificals.

K. Edw. Throw off his golden mitre, rend his stole,
And in the channel christen him anew.

Kent. Ah, brother, lay not violent hands on him!
For he'll complain unto the see of Rome.

Gav. Let him complain unto the see of hell;
I'll be revenged on him for my exile.

Written as the play must have been shortly after the repulse of the Spanish Armada, it is difficult to see in this treatment of the

⁵ Holinshed's *England*, 1587, 342.

scene anything but an attempt to trade on the religious hatred of the populace. It is the despoiling of the Egyptians. "See of Rome — See of Hell" — Every man in the pit must have applauded. Thus, an event, which in his authority was an unjust act beginning the quarrel, Marlowe has rather subtly used to gain sympathy for the king. Certainly Gaveston's speech against Rome is an appeal to popular hatred. One more illustration must suffice. Holinshed states that

he [Edward] gave himself to wantonnes, passing his time in voluptuous pleasure, and riotous excesse: and to help them forward in that kind of life, the foresaid Peers, who (as it may be thought, he had sworne to make the king to forget himself, and the state to which he was called) furnished his court with companies of iesters, ruffians, flattering parasites, musicians, and other vile and naughty ribalds, that the king might spend both daies and nights in iesting, plaieng, banketing, and in such other filthy and dishonorable exercises. . .⁶

This is transmuted into Marlowe's phrase as follows:

I must have wanton poets, pleasant wits,
Musicians that with touching of a string
May draw the pliant king which way I please.
Music and poetry is his delight;
Therefore I'll have Italian masks by night,
Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shows;
And in the day, when he shall walk abroad,
Like silvian nymphs my pages shall be clad;
My men, like satyrs grazing on the lawns,
Shall with their goat-feet dance the antic hay.
Sometime a lovely boy in Dian's shape,
With hair that gilds the water as it glides,
Crownets of pearl about his naked arms,
And in his sportful hands an olive-tree,
To hide those parts that men delight to see,
Shall bathe him in a spring; and there hard by,
One like Acteon peeping through the grove,
Shall by the angry goddess be transformed,
And running in the likeness of an hart
By yelping hounds pulled down, and seem to die; —
Such things as these best please his majesty.

But such "filthy and dishonourable exercises" as he has just described both Marlowe and his audience must have been conscious were the ordinary entertainments of Elizabeth's court. It is certainly possible that the modern reader, with the wealth of histori-

⁶ *Op. cit.* 318.

cal research behind him, reads into the first part much more than Marlowe intended. The play is the presentation of a king, surrounded by turbulent nobles, who is only too faithful to his friends. Betrayed by his adulterous queen and finally murdered by his rebellious barons, he dies pathetically.

I am too weak and feeble to resist:
Assist me sweet God, and receive my soul!

The play ends with the murderers defeated, the queen banished and the royal hearse brought upon the stage.

K. Edw. Third. Go fetch my father's hearse where it shall lie;
And bring my funeral robes. Accursed head,
Could I have ruled thee then, as I do now,
Thou had'st not hatched this monstrous treachery! —
Here comes the hearse; help me to mourn, my lords.
Sweet father, here unto thy murdered ghost
I offer up this wicked traitor's head;
And let these tears, distilling from mine eyes,
Be witness of my grief and innocency.

But however much this new interpretation of the character of Edward may palliate his obvious weakness, the fact remains that his tragedy was a curious one for Marlowe to select. Certainly in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, to go no farther, he could have found a hero, equally dramatic and equally pathetic, for whom so many apologies were not necessary. It almost seems as though his choice of subject were dictated by some external reason. Perhaps the explanation may be found in the letter discovered among the Baker manuscripts by Mr. Ford K. Brown.¹ The letter is unsigned, but so great an authority as Dr. Boas recognizes it as being in the handwriting of Kyd. In substance it repeats the now famous accusations of Richard Baines. But the last paragraph is strikingly different.

He wold p[er]swade with men of quallitie to goe unto the k of Scotts
whether I heare Royden is gon and where if he had lived he told me when I
sawe him last he meant to be.

It is noticeable that whereas the first five accusations concern Marlowe's heretical opinions, this, the final one, is purely political. The insinuation, made to Sir John Puckering, Keeper of the Seal, was that Marlowe was an agent of Scottish propaganda. It was made, if the letter be by Kyd, by one of Marlowe's closest friends,

¹ *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 2, 1921.

and it was considered serious enough to warrant its being laid before the Council of State. Whether the accusation be true, to what extent if any Marlowe acted, whether he received compensation — all these questions are unanswerable. All that we know is that the charge was so serious that it could be bracketed with his deism.

The seriousness of this charge is explained by the political situation. Since Elizabeth had no children and was no longer likely to have children, the next of kin and heir to the throne, after his mother, was James the Sixth of Scotland. This was recognized on the 2nd of July, 1586, when he became the recipient of a pension of £4,000 a year from Elizabeth. But he was by no means the only heir. His claim came through his grandmother, the sister of Henry VIII. But her descendants by her second marriage, and all the descendants of Henry's youngest sister Mary, had claims that were almost equally good. This also was recognized in the vagueness of the terms by which Elizabeth bound herself to do nothing to derogate from "any greatness that might be due to him, unless provoked on his part by manifest ingratitude." Elizabeth's dislike to naming her successor is too well-known to need comment, and James purchased this rather dubious recognition of his rights to the throne of England by acquiescence in the execution of his mother in the following February. The result was to make James, on the one side, acutely interested in English public opinion concerning himself and in every particular that might affect Elizabeth. For this he was continually sending embassies, he kept his own ambassador and his own representatives, such as Archibald Douglas, and, naturally, a corps of agents. On the other side, this treaty rendered him in the eyes of London by far the most interesting living foreigner. When the number of lives his accession to the throne would affect — and as a matter of history did affect — is considered, the amount of gossip concerning him must have been incalculable.

The immediate problem to discover is how they did regard him, what was the gossip. We have, of course, any number of personal descriptions of him, particularly after he had become King of England, but these do not help us much. Scotland in the sixteenth century was very far from London. The official view is probably given by Abraham Fleming's addition to the Holinshed in 1587.

Charles James the sixth of that name King of Scots now living, a toward young prince, and one well furnished with the gifts of nature and learning by

birth and instruction, did in his younger yeares about the age of seventene or eightene, write a booke of verses in his mother toong, conteining matters of sundrie rare inventions, and of sundrie forme of verses both learned and eloquent, which booke was after published to the world; whom I have here placed the last in this catalog of Scottish writers, to the end that I would close up the same title with no lesse honorable and rare person, than I first made entrance thereinto: and therefore beginning with a king, I thought good also to knit it up with a king.

A king and a poet — so much for the personal side. The historical is given in the section, *The historie of Scotland*. As this occupies fifty folio pages, I may be forgiven if I make only excerpts, epitomizing the intervals. James, who had become king at the age of one year by forced abdication of his mother, was during the greater part of his minority the bone of contention of the parties of the nobles, the Earl of Morton acting as regent.

In the forenamed moneth of August, there grew secret dissension amongst the nobilitie at home, which still continued and fed the former unkindly fire of contention between the two factions of the yoong king, and the imprisoned queene: by occasion whereof the realme was divided into three parts, some following the king, some standing on[e] the queenes side, and some assisting neither of both, all of which were termed by several names, as the kinges faction, the part of the malecontents, and the neutrals, consisting of such as remained indifferent on both side. . .

The situation was changed, however, by the arrival from France in 1579 of Esmé Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny.

Amies Steward the lord of Obigny in France . . . did come into Scotland, was by the king most honorably received, and advanced to further honor. For the king taking from Robert Steward (whom the last yeare he had created earle of Lenneux) the title of that earledome of Lenneux, he now invested this lord of Obignie in France with the same, and created him earle of Leneux, thereby more firmelie to bind the lord Obignie in France to be faithful to him in Scotland.

Under his influence Morton was executed. Lennox's rule was overthrown by the so-called raid of Ruthven, in 1582, when James was captured, compelled to conform to the will of his captors, and to issue a proclamation banishing Lennox.

Religion thus settled in Scotland, it fell hereupon that Amies duke of Leneux, to which honor he was not long before advanced, . . . was now in this yeare upon displeasure, conceived against him by others of the nobilitie, banished Scotland, & inforced to returne into France, there to passe the rest of his life as he had downe before.

Even while Lennox' star was setting a new favorite appeared in

the person of Colonel James Stewart, a soldier of fortune, who made his success as a tool of Lennox himself, and was created Earl of Arran.

James Stewart was created earle of Arrane, the manner of obtaining which earledome of Arrane by the said Stewart being extraordinarie procured, seemeth to me not to be forgotten:

Here follows an account of the curious fraud by which

James Stewart being by nature and experience subtil witted, and by authoritie and the kings favor in great credit; found meanes partlie by policie, partlie by persuasion, and partlie by flatterie, to wring from the lunaticke earle of Arrane, a grant and departure of all his right, title, and honor to the lands and earledome of Arrane.

Again civil war broke out and in 1585 Arran was driven from Scotland. Gardiner's comment on Arran is bitter:^a

Before long Arran took advantage of James's greatest moral weakness, his love of pleasure and dislike of business. He persuaded James to amuse himself with hunting instead of attending of the council, and to receive information of affairs of state from Arran alone . . . James's subserviency to the base and arrogant Arran was, far more than his subserviency to Esmé Stuart, an indication of the most mischievous defect in his character.

As I have been outlining the history of Scotland for the first half of the eighth decade of the sixteenth century, it is obvious the comparison that I wish to make. We know that Marlowe used the Holinshed; it is the source of his history for *Edward II*. It is inferentially probable that in the same publication he read also the record of the events of his own time. You find, then, in each case a young king surrounded by turbulent nobles, with a queen in opposition. In each case the king suffers under the imputation of perversion because he promotes favorites beyond their desert. In each case the first favorite comes from France, and appeals to the king's love of art. In each case the succeeding favorite is introduced to the king by the former. It is unnecessary to continue parallels; the point is obvious.

But by this I do not mean that, aside from its final ending, the play of Edward Second is an allegory of the affairs of Scotland. Marlowe is dramatizing the chronicle; it would have been dangerous to have done anything else, when Elizabeth's attitude toward James is remembered. On the other hand, it explains Marlowe's alterations of the chronicle, the most striking of which is the

^a D. N. B. Article James I.

omission of the suppression of the Templars. There was no analogy to that in Scottish affairs. What Marlowe did, or may have done, is first: his attention was attracted to the obvious analogy between the situation of Edward and James, and he determined to dramatize the common features;⁹ or, he resorted to a most subtle propaganda; by dramatizing fairly a passage of English history, he answered criticisms against the Scottish claimant. Still more, by throwing all the stress upon the tragedy of the King and the horror of the murder, he issued a warning that he who defies God's anointed, is in dangerous ways. It is interesting to see that this view became current. History had been served up before and appeared again, especially during the Commonwealth, as a warning; the peculiarity here is that such a type as Edward should be put forward. In 1680 a prose account of Edward was issued in a small folio; the following year Dryden published his *Absolom and Achitophel*, to defend also the monarchy. But the prose account purports to have been written in 1627, the year before Charles dismissed parliament. In 1721 with the conflict between the Whigs and the Tories again appears a life of Edward, this time in verse. This also states that it was written in the time of Charles. It must be granted, I think, that Marlowe's genius, however unexpected by himself, has transmuted the dross of the actuality into a golden defense of English monarchy.

⁹ It would be an interesting question to discuss how far the Scottish personages affect the characterization of the play.

GRANVILLE SHARP (1767) ON ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION

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I

1. Granville Sharp (1735-1813) was an English scholar, writer and philanthropist, best known for his anti-slavery activities. For more detailed information see the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and the works there cited. Here it will be sufficient to point out a few facts which may help us in determining the worth (for our purposes) of his *Short Treatise on the English Tongue*.

Sharp's grandfather, John Sharp, archbishop of York, was a somewhat prominent political as well as clerical figure of the post-Restoration period. His father, Thomas Sharp, the biographer of the archbishop, was a prolific writer on theological topics. Granville Sharp himself was born in Durham, and educated at the grammar school there. He was thus a Northerner both by birth and by upbringing. After leaving school he was apprenticed to a London draper, but at the age of 23 obtained employment in the government ordnance department.

Sharp's writings include works on theological, linguistic (Hebrew, English, Greek) and politico-social topics. In all these fields he seems to have been a sound scholar and a clear if not original thinker. On the whole, indeed, he was a man notably in advance of his times. As an orthoëpist, though, he cannot be awarded this high praise; his *Treatise* is a well organized, conscientious piece of work, but otherwise gives us nothing above what we might expect from a non-phonetic age. In spite of this, however, the *Treatise* by no means deserves the neglect with which it has heretofore been treated. Besides confirming and supplementing at many points the testimony of other orthoëpists of the period, Sharp's analyses and examples shed new light on at least one much-mooted question of NE phonology.

2. Sharp's "tract" on English pronunciation is bi-lingual

(English-French), the English text and the French translation appearing on opposite pages. The title-page reads as follows: "A Short Treatise on the English Tongue, Being an Attempt to render the Reading and Pronunciation of the same More Easy to Foreigners. Essai Sur La Langue Angloise. Dans lequel on tache d'en rendre La Lecture et La Prononciation Plus Facile aux Etrangers. London: Printed for R. Harsfield in Ludgate Street, and I. Allix in Glanville Street, Rathbone Place. MDCCLXVII." pp. xv (= xxx) + 30 (= 60) + Index (10) + Appendix 9 (= 18) + errata (1) + insert advertizing "tracts by the same author" (4). Only the surname of the author is given, and that only on the back of the book (where the superscription reads "Sharp on English Pron."), but the list of thirteen "tracts" given in the insert enables us to identify the Sharp in question.

3. The author explains as follows his purpose in writing the *Treatise* (pp. i sq.): "It is generally allowed, that the most easy method of attaining any living language is to associate and converse with those who speak it. Nevertheless, when a foreigner has by this means so far acquired the English tongue, that he shall be able to speak it, and understand it when spoken, tolerably well, he will yet find himself greatly at a loss, when he attempts to read: because the manner of expressing sounds by letters in his own language is so very different from ours, that many English words, which he is well acquainted with by ear, will not appear to him to be the same when he sees them in writing. For not only various sounds are expressed in the English language by the same vowels; but also, in many particular words, a kind of arbitrary pronunciation is used, which cannot easily be reduced to rule, and is therefore most commonly taught merely by ear, or imitation. This latter difficulty, I am afraid, cannot be removed; but, I think, it may be relieved in some degree, by separating all such words from those which are capable of being taught by rule. This I have attempted, and have accordingly collected all, or the greatest part of such kind of words, under their proper heads, as exceptions to the several rules given in the following pages, together with a short explanation of their sound." He continues (p. xiv): "In my search for such words as are independent of . . . [these] rules, I made use of the Rev. Mr. Entick's new spelling dictionary." Other works with which he was presumably familiar, since he refers to them in his Introduction or in the body of the *Treatise*, are:

"the learned Dr. Lowth's" English Grammar
 John Gignoux' *The Child's best Instructor in Spelling and Reading*
 James Buchanan's *An Essay towards establishing a Standard . . . Pronunciation of the English Language . . .*
 Peyton's *New Vocabulary . . .*
 J. Carter's *The Complete English Spelling Dictionary . . . 1764*
 Dr. Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*
 Wallis's *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*
 Dr. Middleton's †

It is necessary to add that the *Treatise* proper does not deal with consonants, the discussion of which is relegated to an appendix, "drawn up and communicated by a friend" (p. iii).

4. In his Introduction (pp. iv sqq.) Sharp discusses in some detail certain things he dislikes in Gignoux' *Child's best Instructor* and Buchanan's *Essay*. I quote *in extenso* his objections to Gignoux. After praising the *Child's best Instructor* as on the whole "the most useful book of the sort that has hitherto been published," he continues: "I must however observe, that the author, in his '*Table of Words written very different from their Pronunciation*,'" at page 82, has too much followed the common London pronunciation; which, tho' perhaps in general the best, yet has some very exceptionable particularities. Among which are, *Potticary* for Apothecary, *Athist* for Atheist, *Awkurd* for Aukward, *Riccolas* for Auricolas, *Belcony* for Balcony, *Carrin* for Carrion, *Sirket* for Circuit, *Crowner* for Coroner, *Gorjus* for Gorgeous, *Hankerchur* for Handkerchief, *I'urn* for Iron, *Ilan* for Island, *Spanel* for Spaniel, *Stummuch* for Stomach, *Sound* for Swoon, *Thusty* for Thirsty, *Vawt* for Vault, *Venzun* for Venison, *Verdit* for Verdict, &c." Also in page 57 he signifies that the terminations *-tial*, *-cial*, *-cian*, *-tious*, *-cious*, *-tient*, and *-cient*, make each of them "*but one sound or syllable*." But however common such pronunciation may be, it ought not by any means to be taught, or laid down as a rule; because the English language loses much of its elegance, when it is expressed in so careless a manner, that any of the above-mentioned terminations shall seem but one syllable." I may add the following (pp. vii sq.) from his criticism of Buchanan: ". . . the expressing of an accented syllable in many particular words does almost unavoidably cause the succeeding syllable or syllables to be so indistinctly pronounced, that it is sometimes difficult to determine what vowels are sounded therein, as I have before observed.

But when words are so pronounced that instead of the short or indistinct sound of one vowel, a manifest articulation of another different vowel may be distinguished; it then becomes a fault in speech, which (howsoever common it may be) ought by no means to be imitated, much less taught; because the generality of people are naturally too liable of themselves to acquire it, without being led thereto by written instructions." It is perhaps gratuitous to analyze these quotations, since Sharp makes his point of view clear enough. The following capitulation may nevertheless be worth giving: (1) Sharp distinguishes between the *true* pronunciation, to be determined from the spelling, and the *common* (London) pronunciation, i.e. current usage; he makes the distinction apply primarily to unstressed syllables, secondarily to certain pronunciations (as *vaut* for *vault*) he does not like, but *to no other cases*; (2) he recognizes the "common London pronunciation" as "perhaps in general the best."

II

5. The following §§ consist mostly of quotations from the *Treatise* proper. I distinguish Sharp's main text from his notes by giving the latter in small print. The quotations include everything of any importance in the *Treatise*; in doubtful cases I have been careful to err on the safe side — i. e. by giving too much rather than too little. On the other hand, I have tried to make my own comments as brief and as few in number as possible. Sharp's sequence has in general been adhered to — so much so, indeed, that the quotations, taken together in the order in which they here occur, may for the most part be read as a continuous narrative. In other words, I have striven not only to present my conclusions but also to render accessible in its original form (so far as practicable) the evidence on which these conclusions are based.

6. The "English" and the "foreign" sounds of the vowels (pp. 1-2). "The English vowels, a, e, i, o, and u, have each of them 2 *sounds*, commonly called *long* and *short*."

The vowels may indeed be said to have more sounds than 2, because a different pronunciation from the 2 sounds here spoken of, is given to each of the vowels in a few particular cases, which are hereafter noted; but at present I am only speaking of their general power.

The sounds of the three first vowels a, e, and i, when long, seem to be peculiar at present to this nation, wherefore they may properly

be called the English sounds. And the short sounds of these three vowels may, for the sake of distinction, be called the foreign sounds; because they are uttered with scarcely any difference (except that *a* and *i*, are pronounced short) from the French articulation of the same vowels."

7. Rule I. (pp. 3-4). "The English (or long) sound is given to the vowels *a*, *e*, and *i* (and the other vowels are also sounded long) when they are alone or when there is not a consonant following them in the same syllable (also before silent *e* in the end of a word; see the 3d rule) *a* like the French *e* in *Bete*, as in *Ca-ble*, *Fa-ble*, *Sa-ble*, &c. *e* like the French *i* in *Mille*, as in *Be*, *He*, *E-vil*, *Be-ver*, *Le-gal*, &c. *i* like the Greek *ei* or something like the French *i* long before *n* in *Divin*, *Prince*, *Enfin*, &c. as in *Bi-ble*; *Di-al*; *Fi-nal*; *Gi-ant*, &c. *o* like the French *o* or *au*, as in *Go*; *So*; *Lo-cal*; *Mo-ment*, &c., *u* like *ew* in *Few*, *Pew*, &c., as in *Du-ty*, *Fu-ry*, *Human*, &c. *y* (when a vowel) like the English *i*; . . ." Sharp takes the comparison of "English" *i* with Greek *ei* from Wallis, to whom he refers it in a footnote. In another note (p. 2) he says:

There are 2 ways of sounding the long *i* and *y* (though both long) the one a little different from the other, and requiring a little more extension of the mouth, as may be seen by comparing the following words, viz. *I* and *Aye*, *High* and *High-ho*; *By't* (or by it) and *Bite*; *Sigh'd* and *Side*; *Strive* and *Strife*, &c. but this difference being so nice, is not to be attained but by much practice, neither is it very material.

8. Particular exceptions to Rule I. (pp. 5-7). "*a* in *Wa-ter* . . . is commonly pronounced like the French *a*, or English diphthong *aw*; in *Fa-ther*, and the last syllable of *Pa-pa*, *Mam-ma*, . . . it has a medium sound between *aw* and the English *a*; and in *a-ny*, and *ma-ny*, . . . it sounds like a short *e*. *i* in *ac-quiesce*, *Bi-er*, *Pi-er*, and *Tier* . . . sounds like the English *e*. . . . *o* in *Do* (and its compounds) *To*, and *Who* . . . is commonly pronounced like *oo*; though the latter (*Who*) is pronounced according to the rule in the northern parts of England. *u*, in the first syllable of *Cu-cumber*, . . . is commonly pronounced like the English *ou* hereafter explained." For my interpretation of Sharp's "medium" *a* see below.

9. Rule II. (pp. 7-8). "The vowels are pronounced short in all syllables ending with a consonant (except in the particular cases hereafter noted) and the three first vowels have the foreign articulation, without any other material difference, except that of

being pronounced short. *a* has a short articulation of the English *aw*, or rather of the Italian *a*, as in *Add, Bad, Lad, Mad, &c.* *e* has exactly the sound of the Italian or French *è*, as in *Bed, Fed, Led, Red, &c.* *i* has a short articulation of the French *i*, or English *e*, as in *Bid, Did, Hid, Kid, &c.* The short sound of the two other vowels (viz. *o* and *u*) must be acquired by ear, . . .” The identification of short *a* with Italian *a*, so common in 17-19th century grammars and dictionaries, must be interpreted as a traditional comparison, handed down from a period when it was justified by the facts. That Sharp joined in the chorus is not surprising, and we have no right to blame him too much for doing so; his betters had done the same before him, and were destined to do the same after him for a century or more to come. Thus even so good an authority as Walker 1797 describes [æ] as “the short sound of the middle or Italian *a*,” and R. S. Jameson 1850, though a contemporary of Ellis, speaks of the short sound of Italian *a* “as in *mat*”! As to the short sounds of *o* and *u*, which “must be acquired by ear,” the author (p. 3) gives *odd, nod, lord* as examples for short *o* and *mud, strut, stun, urn* as examples for short *u*. He thus fails to distinguish between the long and the short open *o*. Similarly Nares 1784.

10. Particular exceptions to Rule II. *A* (pp. 8-9). “*a* in *An-gel, Bass, Cam-brick, Cam-bridge, Dan-ger, and Man-ger*, is commonly sounded like the French diphthong *ai*; in *han’t* (for *have not*) *Mas-ter, and Plas-ter*, it has a medium sound between *aw* and the English *a*; and in *Hal-ser* (wherein *l* is mute) *False, and Palsy*, it is commonly pronounced like *aw*.” The “medium” *a*, which we have already met (§ 8) in the words *father, mamma, papa*, here appears again. For my interpretation of it see below.

11. Particular exceptions to Rule II. *E, I* (pp. 9-10). “*e* in *England, Pretty, Yes, and Yet* . . . is pronounced like a short *i*, and in *Yellow* like a short *a*. *i* in *Blithe, Endict* and *Indict* (wherein *c* is mute) *Mild, Pint, and Wild*, retains its English, or long sound; also in *Child* and *Christ*, but not in their derivatives, *Children, Christen, and Christian*.”

12. Particular exceptions to Rule II. *o* (pp. 12-14). “*o* is . . . pronounced long in *Boll, Bolster, Comb* (wherein *b* is mute) *Control, Droll, Folk* (wherein *l* is mute) *Force, Fort, Ghost, Gross, Holster, Host, Most, Only, Post, Poll, Pat-roll, Port, Roll, Scroll, Sloth, Sport, and Sword* (wherein *w* is mute) *Stroll, Toll, and*

Troll, and their compounds, &c. But in *Compt* and its compounds, *Ac-compt*, &c., it sounds like the English diphthong *ou*, as if spelt *Count*, *Ac-count*, &c.

"It has the sound of a short *u* in *Af-front*, *At-tor-ney*, *Bomb*, *Bor-age*, *Bor-ough*, *Broth-er*, *Col-our*, *Com-fits*, *Com-fort*, *Com-pany*, *Com-pass*, *Con-duit*, *Con-ey*, *Con-sta-ble*, *Coz-en*, *Cov-e-nant*, *Cov-er*, *Cov-et*, *Cov-ey*, *Dis-com-fit*, *Doz-en*, *Gov-ern*, *Hon-ey*, *Lon-don*, *Mon-day*, *Mon-ey*, *Monk*, *Mon-key*, *Mon-ger*, *Mon-grel*, *Month*, *Moth-er*, *On-ion*, *Oth-er*, *Ov-en*, *Pom-mel*, *Poth-er*, *Rom-age*, *Ront*, *Son*, *Shov-el*, *Slov-en*, *Smoth-er*, *Ton*, *Thor-ough-ly*, *Won*, *Won-der*, *Word*, *World*, *Work*, *Worm*, *Wor-sted*, *Worth*, *Wom-an* (in the singular only, the plural being pronounced as if spelt *Wimmen*) *Wor-ry*, *Wort*, *Wor-ship*, and their compounds, &c., except *Dis-cov-er* and *Re-cov-er*, which are pronounced according to rule.

In the dialects of Lancashire, and some other places, the *o* is pronounced according to rule, in many of these words.

"It is most commonly sounded like *oo* in *Tomb* and *Womb* (wherein *b* is silent) *Lo-ser*, *Gold*, *Whom*, and *Whose*: and is mute in *jeop-ard-y*, *Leop-ard*, and *People*, which are pronounced as if written *Jep-par-dy*, *Lep-pard*, and *Pee-ple*.

In the northern parts of England the words *Gold*, *Who*, *Whom*, and *whose*, are pronounced properly as they are spelt."

The only thing worthy of note here is Sharp's failure to distinguish between [u] and [ʌ]. For further evidence on this point see below. The [ʌ] of *discover*, *recover* is doubtless a spelling pronunciation.

12. General exceptions to Rule II. A (p. 9). "a has the sound of *aw* . . . before *ld* and *lt*, as in *Bald*, *Cal-dron*, *Altar*, &c.; in all primitive monosyllables ending in *ll* (except *shall* and *Mall*, which are pronounced according to rule) as in *All*, *Gall*, *Fall*, &c.; and before *lk* (wherein *l* is mute) as *Balk*, *Stalk*, *Walk*, *Talk*, &c.: but before *lf*, *lm*, *lve*, and before *nd* in words derived from the Latin word *Mando*, it is sounded like the Italian *a*, only somewhat longer, as in *Half*, *Calm*, *Salve*, *Command*, *Demand*, &c." The long "Italian *a*" here recorded for *half* etc. was apparently [æ], as Sharp's short *a* (which he identifies with Italian *a*) was almost certainly [æ]. Note that the words in question are all *au*-words. In contrast to the *a* thus described is Sharp's "medium" *a*, heard in the words *father*, *mamma*, *papa*, *han't*, *master*, *plaster*. This *a*

he describes as being a sound between *aw* and the "English" *a*; in the Index he respells it *aw*. Here we probably have to do with a long [a]-sound; the words in question are all *a*-words. This statement may be disputed as to *han't*; a current theory assumes an early *au* in *shan't*, *han't*, whence the diphthong spread to *an't*, *can't*. The analogy would of course be aided by the *au* found in nearly all the other *nt*-words. In itself this theory is plausible enough, I allow. There is, however, no evidence whatever to support it. Indeed, the spellings which occur all point to an entirely different development. Such a spelling as *shannot*, for instance, if it has any meaning, means that the *l* was assimilated to the *n*. This would give a long *n*, and the next step would be the transference (by anticipation) of the length from the consonant to the preceding vowel. Thus can be explained without difficulty such forms as *ain't*, *cain't*, *hain't*, the development of which does not fit in at all with the *au*-theory. As for the modern [a]-forms, they obviously represent later coalescencies; it is clear that such a word as *shan't* can arise at any moment from *shall not* as a new formation, not at all phonetically connected with previous *shan'ts*. In fact, we must assume that when the old contracted forms became vulgar (as they most certainly did) new contractions developed for use in polite colloquial speech.

The distinction drawn by Sharp thus appears to have a historical basis. All the same, it is a distinction hard to swallow; one cannot help being a little suspicious of it, especially in view of the fact that Sharp is (so far as I know) the only orthoëpist who does anything of the sort. Besides, it is possible enough that our author did not mean to draw any distinction here; his new way of describing the *a* (or *a*'s) under consideration may be nothing more than a new way of describing the same sound, and his failure to identify the *a* of *father*, etc., with that of *half*, etc., may be nothing more than an oversight. At any rate, the question must remain open.

13. General exceptions to Rule II. *I, o* (pp. 11-12). "i is . . . sounded long in all primitive words (and their compounds and derivatives) ending in *nd*; as *Bind*, *Rind*, *Wind*, &c.; though in *Wind*, the substantive, and its compounds, it is sometimes pronounced short. . . . o in all words ending in *ld* and *lt*, as *Behold*, *Bold*, *Cold*, *Bolt*, *Colt*, &c., and all their compounds and derivatives, retains its long sound."

14. Rule III. (pp. 14-15). "... when *e* or *ue* follow a consonant in the same syllable, the preceding vowel retains its original open or long sound. Examples. *Ace*, *Face*, *Recede*, *Dice*, *Vote*, *Confute*, *Vague*, *Vogue*, *Col-league*, &c. Also, *Ad-vice*, *De-vice*, *En-tice*, *Suf-fice*, *Sac-rif-ice*, *A-live*, *Con-nive*, *Con-trive*, *De-prise*, *De-rive*, *Re-vive*, and *Sur-vive*, which are accented on the last syllable. The vowel *a* is sounded long even before *two consonants*, when they are followed by *e* in the same syllable (except before *-nce*) as in *Ache*, *Haste*, *Waste*, *Change*, *Grange*, *Range*, &c., and their compounds and derivatives; but the other four vowels are sounded short in the like case, as in *Fringe*, *Revenge*, *Solve*, *Serve*, *Tinge*, *Sludge*, *Grudge*, &c." Worthy of note is the "short *e*" of *serve*. Our author later identifies *er* and *ir*, so the inclusion of *serve* here gives us no right to suppose that he really pronounced [e] in the word. Like most orthoëpists, Sharp is somewhat prone to muddling, and here we have a good example of the process.

15. General exceptions to Rule III. (pp. 15, 17). (1) "Except words having the accent on the penultima or antepenultima: in all which the last syllable, being short, is pronounced as if the *e* and *ue* final were absent, as in *Cal-a-mine*, *Cath-er-ine*, *Cat-a-logue*, *Dec-a-logue*, *De-pos-ite*, *Des-tine*, *De-ter-mine*, *Dis-fran-chise*, *Doctrine*, *En-gine*, *Ep-i-logue*, *Ex-quis-ite*, *Gran-ite*, *Har-ángue*, *Finite*, and its compounds, *Mar-it-ime*, *Med-ic-ine*, *Min-ute* (not the adjective for *small*) *Mor-tise*, *Ped-a-gogue*, *Prac-tise* (verb) *Prologue*, *Prom-ise*, *Sap-phire*, *Syn-a-gogue*, *Trea-tise*, and *Urine*.

(2) "i in all adjectives of more than one syllable ending in *-ile*, and in all words (except those mentioned in the above example [§ 14]) ending in *ice* and *ive*, is pronounced short, as in *Ser-vile*, *Ju-ven-ile*, *Cap-rice*, *Mal-ice*, *En-dive*, *Pos-it-ive*, &c."

The inclusion of *harangue* here must be regarded as a *tour de force*. A few of the words given are now pronounced "according to rule": (*dis*)*franchise*, *finite* (rarely *infinite*), *sapphire*, *maritime* (usually). This change in pronunciation is doubtless due to the spelling. Sharp's pronunciation of *caprice* apparently represents a popular Anglicization which failed to establish itself.

16. Particular exceptions to Rule III. (pp. 16, 17). (1) "The following monosyllables are likewise exceptions to this rule, viz. *Dare* (the verb), *Give*, *Gone*, *Have*, *Live*, and *One*; all which are pronounced as if *e* final was absent.

One is pronounced as if spelt *Won*.

(2) “*There, Were, and Where . . .* are commonly pronounced as if spelt with the diphthong *ai*, *Thair, Wair, and Whair*; but in all other words (except what are mentioned above) the vowels *a, e, i, or y*, when they come before *-re* final, are sounded long according to the third rule, as in *Are, Care, Here, Mere, Desire, Fire, Lyre, &c.*, as if spelt *Air, Cair, Heer, Meer, Desier, &c.*

(3) “*i* in *Writhe* and *O-blige . . .* is commonly sounded like *ee* (though in the northern parts of England the latter is sounded according to rule).

(4) “*o* in *A-bove, Come, Come-ly, Done, Dove, Glove, Love, Pore-blind, Some, Shove, Sponge, Tongue, and Worse . . .* is sounded like a short *u*; and in *Lose, Move, Prove, and Rome . . .* it is commonly pronounced like *oo*.”

Sharp’s pronunciation of *dare* (OE *dearr, darr*) is of course the historical one, as also his pronunciation of *are*. I do not know what to make of his [i] in *writhe*, unless he is talking about *wreath*, where the *th* was at that time still usually voiced. *Writhe* is spelt *wrethe* in Palsgrave (Skeat).

17. Proper Diphthongs. (p. 18). “Proper Diphthongs have sounds of their own, differing from the long and short sounds of the English vowels.” Obviously our author does not use the word “diphthong” in its present scientific sense. In this respect he is like most of the orthoëpists of his period.

18. Rule IV. (p. 18). “*au* and *aw* are pronounced like the French *a* in *Ame*. Except, *Auf* (more commonly spelt *Oaf*) and *Hautboy*, wherein *au* is pronounced like a long *o*; *Cauliflower*, where it is pronounced like a short *o*; and *Gauge*, wherein it is commonly sounded like the English *a* long.” The shortening in *cauliflower* may be compared to that in *sausage* (as that word is usually pronounced). In his search through Entick’s dictionary Sharp seems very unfortunately to have overlooked *aunt, laugh* and the other much discussed *au: a*-words; at any rate, he says nothing about them.

19. Rule V. (pp. 18-19). “*oi* and *oy*. The proper articulation of these diphthongs is that which is given them in the English words *Oil, Boil, Coy, Hoy, &c.* (See *List of Vowels, Diphthongs, &c., which cannot be expressed in foreign Letters*, page 3). Except, *Tor-toise*, wherein *oi* is commonly sounded like short *u*.” For the pronunciation of *tortoise* (ME *tortuce*) cf. *figure*, etc. Other 18th century orthoëpists (as Johnston, Walker) give a pronuncia-

tion with short *i* for the word. Sharp evidently does not use [ai] as a pronunciation of *oi*.

20. Rule VI. (p. 19). "oo is pronounced like the French *ou* in *Bout*. Examples, *Boot, Broom, Loop, Moor, Poor, &c.* Except, *Blood, Flood, Foot, Good, Hood, Stood, Soot, Wood, and Wool*, wherein *oo* is not pronounced so full, but partakes a little of the sound of a short *u*. Except also *Door* and *Floor*, wherein *oo* has the sound of *o* long.

Door and *Floor* are pronounced by the vulgar in the northern parts of England as they are spelt; for they give the *oor*, in these words, the same sound that it has in *Boor, Moor, Poor, &c.*"

Here Sharp again fails to distinguish [u] and [ʌ]; see above § 11. It is of course possible, however, that he pronounced *blood* and *flood* with [u]; he is obviously unwilling to identify the two vowels, at any rate.

21. Rule VII. (p. 19). "ou and ow. The proper pronunciation of these diphthongs is that which is given them in the English words *Bound, Found, Crown, Cow, Flow-er, Sow* (noun), *Coward, &c.*"

22. Particular exceptions concerning *ou* (pp. 20-21). "ou in *Bouge, Boug-et* (commonly written *Budge* and *Budget*) *Bor-ough, Coun-try, Cou-ple, Cour-age, Cous-in, Dou-ble, Doub-let, Jour-nal, Jour-ney, Mounch, Nour-ish, Thor-ough-ly, Thor-ough-fare, Trouble, Touch, Scourge* (*ou* in *Scourge* is sometimes like *o* long), *Shou'd, Cou'd, and Wou'd, . . .* is pronounced like a short *u*; also in *Enough, Rough, Slough* (when it signifies the part that separates from a sore) and *Tough*; in all which the *gh* final sounds like *f*; but in *Cough, Lough* (or *Lake*) and *Trough*, it is pronounced like a short *o*, as if spelt *Coff, Loff, and Troff*. Except also in *Coul-ter, Course*, (and its compounds *Discourse, &c.*) *Court, Dough, Four, Fur-lough, Gourd, Mourn, Mould, Mould, Poult, Poul-try, Poul-ter-er, Poul-tice, Shoul-der, Soul, Though*, wherein *ou* is sounded like *o* long; and like *oo* in *Bouse, Ca-rouse, Gouge, Through, and Uncouth.*"

The "o long" sometimes heard in *scourge* (AN *escorge, escurge*) may be compared with that of PE *forge* (OF *forge*). The *f*-form of *lough* is doubtless a historical descendant of the ME word, while the *k*-form (recorded e.g. in Nares 1784) probably represents an attempt to pronounce the Gaelic *loch*. Sharp's short *o* in *cough*, etc., bears out Luick's theory as to the development of ME

diphthongal *ou* before *gh-f*. Cf. § 9, where Sharp gives *lord* among words with short *o*. The [u] of *carouse* (G *gar aus*) may be due to the word's being felt as French (on account of the final stress!); direct (re)borrowing from French is improbable, to say the least.

23. General exception concerning *ou* (p. 21). "*ou* before *ght* . . . has a medium sound between *aw* and *o* long, as in *Ought*, *Bought*, *Thought*, &c." Sharp here recognizes a long open *o*, but fails to identify it with *au*. His failure to do so may safely be put down to the difference in spelling, I think. The distinction here drawn (implicitly, of course) between the *ou* of *cough*, etc., and that of *ought*, etc., is a further confirmation of the theory of Luick's just mentioned.

24. Particular exceptions concerning *ow* (p. 21). "*ow* in *Bow* when it signifies a weapon, or segment of a circle; but in the verb *Bow* it is pronounced according to rule; in *Bowl* (or *Bason*, not in *Bowl* the verb, nor its derivatives, &c.) *Blow*, *Crow*, *Flow*, *Flown* (from *Fly*) *Glow*, *Grow*, *Know*, *Low*, *Mow*, *Owe*, *Own*, *Prow*, *Prowl*, *Row*, *Sow* (the verb) *Show*, *Slow*, *Snow*, *Strow*, *Stow*, *Tow* (noun and verb) *Trow*, and *Throw*, and their derivatives, &c. . . . sounds like *o* long."

Bowl vb., being derived from *bowl* sb. ME *boule* F *boule* 'ball,' would normally have the pronunciation [baul]; it was confused, however, with *bowl* 'kind of vessel' ME *bolle*, whence the PE pronunciation. Sharp evidently maintained the old distinction between the two words. On the other hand, both Sharp's [pro:] and PE [prau] are phonetic, the former representing OF diphthongal *proue*, the latter the monophthongal pronunciation which subsequently established itself in the French word. In *prowl* ME *prolle* Sharp's pronunciation is the historical one; the present pronunciation is a result of the word's intimate associations with *howl*.

25. Note. (p. 22). "Many of the words contained in the above exceptions are pronounced in the broad dialects of the northern parts of England as they are spelt; that is, *ou* and *ow* are pronounced according to the VIIth rule, as in *Bound*, *Cow*, &c., viz. *Trough* (making *gh* silent) *Four*, *Mould*, *Moult*, *Poultry*, *Poultice*, *Shoulder*, *Bowl* (or *Bason*) *Glow*, *Grow*, *Mow*, *Owe*, *Own*, *Strow*, *Trow*, *Ought*, *Bought*, &c."

26. Improper Diphthongs. (p. 22). "Improper Diphthongs take the sound of but one of their vowels, the other being mute."

27. Rule VIII. (pp. 23-24). "ai, ay, ey are pronounced like the French *ai*, or English *a* long. Examples. *Dainty, Bail, Gain, Day, May, Grey, Prey, Convey, Obey, Survey, Bey, Dey, &c.* Except, 1st, ai in *Vil-lain* and *Mur-rain*, and sometimes in *Said*, is pronounced like a short *e*. Except, 2dly, ai when alone or at the end of a syllable, as in *A-chai-a*, and the Hebrew names *Ben-ai-ah, Is-ai-ah, Mi-cai-ah, Cai-a-phas, &c.*, wherein it is pronounced like the Greek *ei* or English *i* long. Except, 3dly, ey in *Hey!* and *Hey-day!* wherein it is sounded like the English *i*, and in *Ceylon, Key*, and *Sey-mour*, wherein it is pronounced like the English *e* or French *i*. Except, 4thly, ey at the end of words of more than one syllable (when the accent is placed on a former syllable, as in *Al-ley, At-tor-ney, Bar-ley, Gal-ley, Hon-ey, &c.*) is pronounced like a short *i*."

28. Rule IX. (p. 24). "æ, ea, ee, ei, ie, oe are pronounced like the French *i* in *Fille*, or the English *e* long. Examples. *Dæmon* (or *Demon*) *Beat, Dear, Lead, and Read* (verbs) *Meet, Feet, Re-ceipt, De-ceit, De-ceive, Ceil-ing, Seign-iory, Seize, Shield, Re-prieve, Grief, Foetus, Sub-poena, &c.*"

29. Particular Exceptions concerning *ea*. (pp. 24-25). "*ea* is pronounced like the French *é* in *Bread, Break-fast, Breast, Breath* (noun only) *Cleanly*, and *Cleanse* (not in *clean*) *Dead, Deaf, Death, Dread, En-deav-our, Fea-ther, Head, Heav-en, Heav-y, Jeal-ous, Leav-en, Lead* (metal), *Leath-er, Meas-ure, Mis-teach, Peas-ant, Pheas-ant, Pleas-ant, Pleas-ure, Peas-cod, Read-y, Realm, Read* (only in preter tense and participle passive) *Stead-y, In-stead, Spread, Sweat, Teat, Thread, Threat-en, Treach-ery, Tread, Treas-ure, Weath-er, Weap-on, Wreak, Zealous, Zeal-ot* (not in *Zeal*) *Yeast*, and their compounds and derivatives not already excepted. But in *Bear, Break, Great, Swear, Tear* (the verb) *Wear, Wheel*, and *Weal* (the mark of a stripe, but not in *Weal* for prosperity) it is commonly sounded like the French diphthong *ai*; and like a short *a* in *Hear-ken, Hearth, and Heart.*"

I am unable to explain *misteach*. In *peascod* we have shorten- ing before two consonants; cf. *oatmeal* in many 18th century au- thorities. The short pronunciation of *teat* represents OF *tette* F *tette*. For the [e] of *yeast* (ME *yeest* OE *gist, gyst* + Du. *gest*) cf. the Shakespearean spellings *yest* *Winter's Tale* iii. 3. 94 and

yesty Macbeth iv. 1. 53, Hamlet v. 2. 199. The pronunciation of *wheal* with [e] was due to contamination from *wale* 'stripe-mark,' with which the word is still commonly confused. Similarly, *weal* is merely a bad spelling, with *ea* from *wheal*, for *wale*. Sharp's use of the expression "short *a*" to describe the pronunciation of the *ea* of *hearken*, etc., indicates that he, like Nares 1784, knew nothing of such a sound as [a] before *r*; he certainly makes no distinction whatever between the *a* of *add*, etc., and the *a*-sound here indicated before *r*. Cf. also *yellow* with *a* (§ 11) — a pronunciation taught by Nares as well. In a foot-note Sharp adds, "In the northern parts of England, *Break* and *Great* are pronounced according to rule."

General exceptions concerning *ea*. (pp. 25-26). "But in all other words before *r*, when another consonant follows in the same syllable, it is sounded like *er* or *ir*, as in *Dearth*, *Earl*, *Earn*, *Earn-est*, *Earl-y*, *Earth*, *Hearse*, *Heard*, *Learn*, &c. *ea* before three consonants in the same syllable is pronounced like the French *é*, as in *Health*, *Breadth*, *Wealth*, &c."

Here Sharp not only identifies *er*, *ir* and *ear* +, but also refuses to identify this sound with his *ea* = short *e*. There can thus be little doubt that his *e*, *i* and *ea* before *r* were pronounced substantially as they are today.

30. Exceptions concerning *ee* (p. 26). "ee in *Breech* (noun and verb) *Breechings*, and *Breeches* . . . like a short *i*."

31. Exceptions concerning *ei*. (pp. 26-27). "ei in *Sleight* (*Artifice*) . . . is pronounced like the long English *i*; but it is like a short *i* in *For-feit* and *Sur-feit*; like a short *e* in *For-eign* and *Hei-fer*; and like the diphthong *ai* in *Heinous*, *Heir*, *Leisure* (though sometimes like a short *e* in *Leis-ure*), *Skein*, *Their*, *Veil*, and *Vein*. *ei* is pronounced like the long English *i* when it is not followed by a consonant in the same syllable; as in *Plei-a-des*, *Heidel-berg*; *Hei-den-heim*, *Rei-gate*, &c., but in *ei-ther* and *nei-ther* it is sometimes pronounced like the English *a* long, and sometimes according to rule, like the English *e* long. It has the sound of the English *a* in all words wherein it precedes -*gh*, *gn*, and -*nt* in the same syllable, as *Weigh*, *Freight*, *Deign*, *Feign*, &c. (in all which *g* is mute) *Feint*, *Teint*, &c., except in three words mentioned above, viz. *Sleight*, *Seignory*, and *Foreign*."

32. Exceptions concerning *ie*, *oe*. (p. 27). "ie in *Friend* . . . sounds like a short *e*; and in *Sieve* . . . it sounds like a short *i*."

ie and oe at the end of a word are always pronounced like the first vowel in each diphthong, viz. *ie* like *i* long, and *oe* like *o* long, as in *Die*, *Foe*, &c., except in two words, *Shoe* and *Canoe*, wherein *oe* is commonly pronounced like *oo*."

33. Rule X. (p. 28). "eu, ew, iew are sounded like a single *u* long. Examples. *Europe*, *Eu-nuch*, *Brew*, *Dew*, *View*, &c.

Eau in *Beauty* (and its derivatives) has likewise the same sound.

Except, *ew* in *Sew*, which is commonly sounded like a long *o*.

34. Rule XI. (pp. 28-29). "oa is pronounced like *o* long. Examples. *Boat*, *Coat*, *Groan*, *Moan*, &c. Except, in *Broad*, *A-broad*, and *Groat*, wherein it partakes a little of the sound of *aw*; and in *Goal* (when it signifies a prison) it sounds like *ai*, and the *G* is pronounced soft, as if spelt *Jail*."

That Sharp's identification of the *oa* of *broad*, etc., with *aw* is not complete must be due to the spelling.

35. Rule XII. (p. 29). "ue and ui before a consonant in the same syllable have the short sound of the last vowel in each diphthong; viz. *ue* like a short *e* as in *Guess*, *Guest*, &c.; and *ui* like a short *i*, as in *Build*, *Guild*, *Conduit*, &c. But in words ending with silent *e*, the diphthong *ui* is pronounced like the English *i* long, according to the third rule, as in *Guide*, *Guile*, *Disguise*, &c. Except, the following words, wherein the *u* alone is pronounced, viz. *Bruise*, *Cruise*, *Fruit*, *Juice*, *Nui-sance*, *Pur-suit*, *Re-cruit*, *Sluice*, *Suit*, and *Suit-or*, which are sounded as if spelt *Bruze*, *Cruze*, *Nusance*, &c."

36. "A TABLE of Words which are independent of the foregoing Rules and Exceptions, with the common Pronunciation of each expressed in Italicks." (p. 30). "BUOY *Boey*, Victuals *Vittles*, Colonel *Curnel*, George *Jorge*, Lieutenant *Leuftenant*, Quay *Kee*, Two *Too*, Yacht *Yot*, Yeoman *Yewman*, Yelk or Yolk (of an egg) *Yoke*."

The pronunciation given for *yeoman* presupposes an OE **geō-man*. For the etymology see Ekwall's Jones § 215.

37. "A TABLE of Foreign Words which still retain their original Pronunciation (or nearly so) notwithstanding that they are in a manner adopted, by frequent Use, into the English Language." (p. 30). "ACcoute, Antique, Archives, Arriere, Banditti, Beau, Bureau, Caviare, Cartouch, Connoisseur, Courier, Croup, Cuirass, Environ, Escrtoire, Fascine, Groupe, Intrigue, Lieu, Machine,

Magazine, Marine, Palanquin, Pas, Piquant, Pique, Piquet, Police, Poltron, Ponton, Prame, Profile, Rendezvous, Roquelaure, Rouge, Scout, Sophi, Soup, Tete-à-tete, Tornado, Toupee, Tour, Transmarine, Vermicelli, Violoncello, Jonquil, Adieu."

APPENDIX TO GRANVILLE SHARP'S *Short Treatise on the English Tongue*

[Note. The author of the appendix is unknown. Sharp himself was not the author of it; in his introduction (p. iii) he says it was "drawn up and communicated by a friend." The full title of the appendix reads as follows: An Appendix, containing A Brief Account of the chief Peculiarities of the English Consonants. Supplement, contenant Quelques Remarques sur Les Consonnes Angloises. 9 (=18) pp.]

The following §§ represent the corresponding §§ in the appendix. Nothing has been omitted or displaced.

1. *B* is mute before *t*, or after *m*, in the same syllable, as *Debt*, *Lamb*, &c.

2. *C* sounds soft, like *s*, when followed by *e*, *i*, or an apostrophe (denoting the absence of *e*) as *Cedar*, *City*, *Danc'd*, &c.
C sounds like *sh*, when followed by *ea*, *ia*, *ie*, or *io*, making different syllables, as *Ocean*, *Ancient*, *Precious*, *Social*, &c., except *Society*.

CC when followed by *e* or *i*, sounds like *x*, as *Accept*, *Accident*, &c.

C is mute in *Indict*, *Victuals*, *Scene*, *Scent*, *Science*, *Sciatica*, *Scission*, *Scymiter*, *Scythe*, and the proper names *Scyros*, *Scylla*, and *Scythia*.

In all other cases *C* sounds hard like *k*.

3. *Ch*, when properly English, has the same sound with the Italian *c*, before *e* or *i*. Examp. *Child*, *Chain*, &c.

It sounds also like *sh*, in words derived from the French, as *Chaise*, *Champaigne*, &c., and like *k* in words of Greek extraction, as *Christ*, *School*, *Stomach*, *Archangel*, &c., pronounced *Ark-angel*. But if *Arch* comes before a consonant, *ch* has then its proper English sound, as in *Archbishop*.

Ch in *Loch* sounds like *f*.

Ch is mute in *Drachm*, *Schedule*, and *Schism*.

4. *D* is mute before *ge*, as in *Judge*, *Bridge*, &c., also in *Soldier*.

5. *F* in *Of* sounds like *v*.
6. *G* sounds soft like *j* before *e*, *i*, or an apostrophe, and hard (like the Greek *g*) in all other cases. Examp. *Angel*, *Rage*, *Rag'd*, *Giant*, *Ginger*, &c.

Exceptions to *G*'s sounding soft.

1. In the participles passive of words ending in *g* hard (and also wherever *g* is doubled) it continues hard, notwithstanding the vowels *e* or *i*, or an apostrophe, as in *Dragg'd*, *Begging*, *Digging*, &c.
2. In the termination *ger*, wherever it makes a distinct syllable, *g* sounds hard, as in *An-ger*, *Fin-ger*, *Lon-ger*, *Stron-ger*, &c., in which kind of words it may be observed that the *g* sounds double, so as to belong to both syllables.
3. Derivatives in *er*, *ed*, or *ing* from primitives in *ng*, retain the *g* hard, as *Sing-ing*, *Sing-er*, from *Sing*; *Hang-ing*, *Hang-er*, from *Hang*; *Winged* or *Wing'd* from *Wing*, &c. In which kind of words it may be observed, that *g* sounds single, and belongs to the first syllable only.
4. In the following words *G* is hard, notwithstanding it comes before *e* or *i*; viz. *Geese*, *Gewgaw*, *Geld*, *Gelt*, *Gertrude*, *Get* (with its compounds), *Gibberish*, *Gibbous*, *Giddy*, *Gift*, *Gig*, *Giggle*, *Gild*, *Girl*, *Give*, *Forgive*, *Gilt*, *Gimblet*, *Gimp*, *Gird*, *Girt*, *Girdle*, *Begin*, *Gizzard*, *Gideon*, *Gibbons*, *Gilbert*, and *Gilpin*.
G is mute before *n* in the same syllable, as *Gnash*, *Sign*, *Sovereign*, &c., also in *Phlegm*, *Seraglio*, and *Bagnio*.
7. *Gh* sounds like *G* hard in *Ghost*, and like *ff* in *Cough*, *Lough*, *Laugh*, *Laughter*, *Rough*, *Slough*, *Tough*, *Trough*, and *Enough*. In other words it is mute.
8. *H* is mute in *Hour*, *Honour*, *Honest*, *Heir*, *Herb*, *Humour*, *Hostler*, *Thyme*, *John*, *Thomas*, *Thomasin*, and *Thames*. Also in Greek words, when preceded by *R*, as *Rheum*, *Rhyme*, *Rhetoric*, *Myrrh*, &c., and lastly at the end of words, as *ah*, *hah*, *Isaiah*, *Sarah*, &c.
9. *K* is mute before *n* in the same syllable, as *Knave*, *Know*, *Knight*, &c.
10. *L* is mute in *Balk*, *Talk*, *Walk*, *Stalk*, *Balm*, *Calm*, *Calf*, *Calves*, *Falcon*, *Half*, *Halves*, *Holme* (an island) and *Holmes* (a surname) *Psalm*, *Qualm*, *Salmon*, *Could*, *Should*, and *Would*.

11. *N* is mute after *m* in the same syllable, as *Hymn*, *Autumn*, *Solemn*, &c.
12. *P* is mute before *s*, and between *m* and *t*, as *Psalm*, *Tempt*, &c.
13. *Ph* is always sounded like *f*, except in *Stephen*, *Nephew*, and *Phial*, where it sounds like *v*. *Ph* is mute in *Phthisic*, and is pronounced *Tizzic*.
14. *Q* is always followed by *u*, and, when it begins a syllable, sounds like *cw*, by which (as Mr. Johnson observes) our Saxon ancestors well expressed it. But in terminations from the Latin *-quus*, and also in words of French extraction, it sounds like *k*. Examp. *Oblique*, *Antique*, *Quoif*, *Conquer*, *Risque*, *Traffique*, &c., some of which words are now more commonly spelt with *c* or *k*, as *Coif*, *Risk*, *Traffic*, &c.
15. *S* sounds like *z*.
 - 1st. In the third persons singular of all verbs, and the plural number of all nouns, as in *Has*, *Was*, *Tries*, *Bees*, *Times*, &c.
 - 2dly. In pronouns possessive, as *His*, *Hers*, *Theirs*, and also when preceded by the comma denoting possession, as *Father's*, *Mother's*, *Tom's*, *Will's*, &c. (also in the particle *as*).

Exception to the two last Sections

S has its proper sound when preceded by *c*, *k*, *ck*, *f*, *p*, *q*, or *t*, which admit not the sound of *z* so easily after them, as *Speaks*, *Beats*, *Rocks*, *Jack's*, *Dick's*, *Gilbert's*, *Cock's-spur*, *Cat's-paw*, &c.

3dly. *S* sounds like *z* preceded by a liquid in the same syllable, as *Dam-sel*, *Crim-son*, *Thames*, *Jer-sey*, *Guern-sey*, &c.
And also,

4thly. *S* between two vowels most commonly sounds like *z*, as *Daisy*, *Reprisal*, *Peasant*, *Please*, *Rosin*, &c.

Except *House*, *Mouse*, *Louse*, *Goose*, *Geese*, *Sausage*, *Purchase*, *Promise*, *Case*, *Mason*, *Bason*, *Basis*, *Phasis*, and *Thesis*. Except also substantives in *use*, derived from Latin verbs, as *Use*, *Abuse*, *Disuse*, *Refuse*, *Excuse*, &c., and adjectives derived from the participles passive of some Latin verbs, as *Recluse*, *Profuse*, *Abstruse*, &c.

Lastly. Except also the words contained in the next section but one, where *s* sounds like *zh*.

- II. *S* and *ss* sound like *sh* in *Sure* (with its compounds) *Issue*, *Tissue*, *Fissure*, *Pressure*, *Russian*, &c., also in the terminations *-assion*, *-ession*, *-ission*, *-ussion*, as in *Passion*, *Impression*, *Mission*, *Concussion*, &c.
- III. *S*, when preceded by a vowel and followed by *ion* or *ian*, sounds like *zh*, as *Invasion*, *Ephesian*, *Vision*, *Delusion*, &c. But if it be preceded by a consonant, it sounds like *sh*, as in *Conversion*, *Persian*, &c.
- S* sounds also like *zh* before *-ier*, as *Osier*, *Rosier*, *Glasier*, *Brasier*, &c., and in the words *Leisure*, *Measure*, *Pleasure*, and *Treasure*.
- S* is mute in *Isle*, *Lisle*, *Carlisle*, *Island*, *Viscount*, and *Demesne*.
16. *T* before *io* or *ia* (making part of the same syllable with *i*) sounds like *sh*, as *Na-tion*, *Cau-tious*, *Egyp-tian*, *Sa-ti-ate*, &c. But if *t* belong to the former syllable, it retains its proper Sound, as *Quest-ion*, *Fust-ian*, *Combust-ion*, &c. *T* is mute in words ending with *-stle*, as *Castle*, *Thistle*, *Bristle*, &c.
17. *Th* has two sounds, the one soft, as in *Thy*, the other hard (like the Greek) as in *Thigh*.
- I. *Th* sounds soft,
- 1st. In *Thence*, *There* (with their compounds) *Then*, *That*, *The*, *Thee*, *These*, *This*, *Those*, *Thus*, *Thou*, *Thy*, *Thine*, *Their*, *Theirs*, *Them*, *Though*, *Although*, *Beneath*, *Bequeath*, *Betroth*, *Mouths*, *Tythe*, *Scythe*, *Wreath*, *Booth*, and in the verbs *Bathe*, *Mouth*, *Seeth*, *Loathe*, *Soothe*, and *Breathe*.
- 2dly. Wherever it occurs between two vowels, as *Father*, *Mother*, &c. Except words of Greek extraction, and also derivatives from words ending with *th* hard, as *Earthen* from *Earth*, &c.
- 3dly. *Th* sounds soft when placed between *r* and a vowel, as *Burthen*, *Murther*, &c., though in such words *d* is often written and pronounced instead of *th*, as *Murder*, *Burden*. In other cases *th* sounds hard.
- Th* is mute in *Asthma*, with its derivatives.
18. *W* is mute before *r* in the same syllable, as *Write*, *Wrath*, &c.,

also in *Sword*, *Swoon*, and *Answer*, with their compounds and derivatives.

The other consonants have the same powers as in other languages.

Comments. For the *f* of *loch-lough* cf. Sharp *Treatise*, p. 20, and my note above. For the loss of *p* in *tempt* cf. Jespersen *Mod. Eng. Gram.* I 7. 71. The *v*-form of *Phial* is of French origin.

THOMAS HOLCROFT: TRANSLATOR OF PLAYS

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During the years which have been designated by literary historians as the Romantic Movement, English drama was far from flourishing. In the thirty years that preceded and the thirty that followed the year 1800, there were few productions of outstanding merit: *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773), *The Rivals* (1775), and *The School for Scandal* (1777). The acting stage saw a strange mixture; Shakespeare was revived from time to time in the interpretations of such phenomenal artists as Garrick and Siddons and Kemble and Kean; Otway, Congreve, Shirley and Wycherley appeared on the boards from time to time in expurgated versions; the works of Farquhar, Rowe, Centlivre, Southern, Colley Cibber, and Bickerstaffe were "still welcome on the stage" and were "received with general applause whenever performed." New plays came out, but did not last. The theatrical monopoly, which began in 1737 and continued until 1843, may have had something to do with this lack of strength and growth, for the proprietors had the able players securely bound to them and held in hand prompt-copies of all the old pieces which had once seemed good, and still were thought so. But, whatever the cause, which it is not here my purpose to discuss — sober judgment must grant the truth of the words of Hazlitt, written in 1820, to the effect that "the age is critical, didactic, paradoxical, romantic, but it is not dramatic." Only three new influences seem to have been felt in all these sixty years, and those came from without. It was the light laughter of France and the satirical remarks on society so implicit in Beaumarchais that seem to have produced in England those incomparable masterpieces of Goldsmith and Sheridan. It was the interest in German language and literature and the new conceptions of the *bourgeoisie* from over the Channel that resulted, directly or indirectly, in the startling vogue of Kotzebue and his moral middle

class comedies. It was the spirit and the technique of the French *melo-drame* which set in motion novel implements and conceptions on the London boards in a seemingly never-ending succession of melodramas. The sentimental comedy had declined into inconspicuous mediocrity; the domestic tragedy was barely tolerated.¹ Amid such a dearth of originality in motive and motif, the rôle of the translator and adapter was a common one for playwrights to choose.

Thomas Holcroft had been an actor, in the provinces and in the metropolis, before his own first play appeared before an audience and convinced him he should take to penning lines instead of reciting them. This was in 1781. And yet the major portion of his time during the next ten years must have been devoted — if we may judge by the output, which was so enormous as to preclude the possibility of much other work — to journalistic writings and to translations and adaptations from the French. There is no doubt about his having been a translator, for volume after volume appeared from his hands, including such noteworthy renderings as *The Life of Baron Frederic Trenck* (1788), Lavater's *Physiognomy* (1789), Mirabeau's *Secret History of the Court of Berlin* (1789), and the *Posthumous Works of Frederick II.* (1789). The last, in thirteen weighty octavo tomes, was based upon an advance copy procured prior to the publication of the original "through the interest of the Prussian Ambassador."² And precautions and speed were necessary, for when he later turned Bouilly's *L'Abbé de l'Épée* into English, it transpired that Benjamin Thompson and Mrs. Inchbald were simultaneously translating rival versions.³ Then there was the notorious pirating of the *Mariage de Figaro*, for which Holcroft made a special surreptitious trip to Paris in 1784, "translated . . . and played in little more than a month."⁴ It is possible that he selected for translation or adaptation only those

¹ In 1817, Richard Cumberland said of George Lillo's *London Merchant*: "We act it about once a season with much the same relish as we eat salt fish upon Good Friday"; and Edward Moore's *Gamester* was in like state.

² *Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft*, 2:67, p. 116. (Following the procedure adopted in my *Bibliography of Thomas Holcroft*, New York, 1922, I give all references to the *Memoirs* in duplicate: to the 1816 edition by volume and page, and in *italics* by page to volume 2 of the Waller-Glover *Hazlitt*.)

³ See my *Bibliography*, pp. 80-81; Gooden, J., *Memoirs of Mrs. Inchbald*, 2: 48-50; Thompson, B., *German Theatre*, Vol. III; and *Biographia Drammatica*, 1. 2:706-707; 2:155.

⁴ Preface to *Follies of a Day*, page v; *Memoirs*, 2:60, p. 113; and my *Bibliography*, pp. 49-50.

plays which appealed to him or which suited the bent of his mind. We know that he was a keen traveller and observer of customs and institutions in foreign lands, and many of his translations were books of travel. We know that he was opposed to hereditary, monarchical, and despotic government; and many of his translations harped on the atrocities or centered about the figure of Frederick of Prussia. A similar sort of inclination may have determined what plays he took. At any rate high praise has been given even to this menial type of work as he performed it. In her *Recollections of a Literary Life*, Mary Russell Mitford has remarked that "if ever one happens to take up an English version of a French or a German book of that period and if that version have in it the zest and savour of original writing, we shall be sure to find the name of Thomas Holcroft on the title page."⁵ This of his non-dramatic work. We shall see if the same thing may be said of the plays.

The pieces which he took over from a foreign language without altering them in some degree or other are very few; indeed, we may justly say that he made some alterations in all, though in some cases these alterations were slight. There was *Der Gasthof*⁶ of Johann Christian Brandes which he brought to the British stage⁷ out of a French version and put on in a production which "in most of its parts is nothing more than a liberal translation" though there were occasional touches demanded "in consequence of difference in manners or of taste."⁸ There was Pixérécourt's phenomenally successful *mélodrame*, *Coelina*,⁹ transformed into an almost equally successful English melodrama in an almost exact copy,¹⁰ except for a few omissions and compressions; and this in spite of the fact that Holcroft spoke only in general terms of having derived from the French play "the principal incidents, many of the thoughts, and much of the manner of telling the story," claiming only to "select and unite masterly sketches that were capable of forming a complete picture."¹¹ And what, in these, did he bring to the British drama? The German play was exciting enough,

⁵ *Recollections of a Literary Life*, (ed. London, 1852), 1:130.

⁶ Acted at Mannheim, 1780; printed at Mannheim, 1780.

⁷ *The German Hotel*, acted at Covent Garden, 1794; printed 1794.

⁸ Preface to *The German Hotel*.

⁹ Acted at Paris, 1800. Played at Paris nearly four hundred times and in the provinces over a thousand times in thirty years. Hartog, *Pixérécourt*, p. 235.

¹⁰ *A Tale of Mystery*, acted at Covent Garden, 1802; printed 1802.

¹¹ Preface to *A Tale of Mystery*.

with its intrigues and seductions, love and loyalties; and yet all the most stirring incidents — an arrest, an imprisonment, and a duel — took place off-stage and the final London performance was more of the moral bourgeoisie drama than any forerunner of the impending vogue of Kotzebue. There was no bridge scene here, no violence, no lofty heroics, no mighty *Pizarro*,¹² and no inimitable *Stranger*.¹³ With the French importation we cannot, however, be so niggardly of praise. Here in *A Tale of Mystery* which he made out of *Coelina* was the startling episode and the thrilling situation and the thoroughly moral characterizations, so common to the host of melodramas that were to follow in the decade on decade to follow. Here also, in what was otherwise principally a literal rendering, was an interpolated scene, a “bridge” scene at that, — using the stock machinery of the London theatres which had been so strikingly successful in *Pizarro*. Here, furthermore, was the new device of musical interpretation of emotion, words giving place to harmonies from the orchestra as a means of expressing feeling. The melodrama had arrived in England, and Holcroft was the man who brought it over, later in an original play of his own leaning heavily upon “the machinist of the theatre” to give “reality and distress in the rock scene” and upon the lowly orchestra to give the music which “precedes and announces the entrance of each and every character throughout the piece.”¹⁴

Holcroft's other plain translations from other countries¹⁵ are included in an unsuccessful publication which he started on a monthly basis in 1805 but never carried past the first year and the yearly supplement. This publication, called *The Theatrical Recorder*, contained each month one or more translations of plays from the French, German, Italian, or Spanish, avowedly turned

¹² Acted at Drury Lane, 24 March 1798.

¹³ Acted at Drury Lane, 24 May 1799.

¹⁴ *The Lady of the Rock*, by Holcroft, acted at Drury Lane, 1805, *preface*.

¹⁵ In order to secure simplicity and directness in this summary, I have purposely omitted from discussion all translations which were not printed and also all that were not acted on the British stage, thus precluding mention of some plays by Goldoni, Kotzebue, Mme. de Genlis (very moral), and Frederick the Great. Those unacted plays which appeared in the *Theatrical Recorder*, discussed in this paragraph, are, however, included because the character of that condensed collection was such as to render it useful to managers in the same manner as Bell's, Cook's, Inchbald's, and Cumberland's collections, and therefore probably of influence on the English stage mind even though not directly, perhaps, on the stage productions. I omit from extended explanation *The Inquisitor*, acted at the Haymarket 23 June, 1798, printed 1798, taken without substantial alterations from *Diego und Leonor*, since it was unsuccessful and unimportant.

into English for the convenience of British playwrights and producers, and stated to be "at the free disposal of literary talent." An *Essay on Dramatic Composition* upon which Holcroft professed to have bestowed "peculiar attention" deals as much with French as with British authors, in a true cosmopolitan spirit; and a further item of international interest was a long serial essay entitled *Some Account of the Rise and Progress of the German Stage*, though the timeliness of this must have been somewhat destroyed by the fact that it was translated from a French publication of twenty-three years earlier, that is, before the advent of Kotzebue.¹⁶ Yet any collection that reaches out into the dramatic wealth of those four languages cannot be discounted too readily on account of less valuable essays included along with the plays. *The Theatrical Recorder* included translations in full from the Spanish of Lope de Vega and Calderon de la Barca; from the Italian of Goldoni and Alfieri; from the French of Carmontel, Le Brun, and St. Leger; and from the German of Gellert, Engel, and Lessing. Surely the appearance of *Minna von Barnhelm* and *Emilia Galotti* cannot be overlooked entirely, even if the translations were merely such—at least not overlooked by anyone who knows that there was soon to be heard what Hazlitt termed "the loud trampling of the German Pegasus on the English stage." It would be folly of course to attempt to rank Holcroft with Hazlitt as an interpreter of literature. But it can at least be said that in the humble rôle of purveyor of foreign dramas he played a much more regular part. When he was bringing over from the German—even though through French channels—the rising literature of the north, Hazlitt's familiarity with that literature was "bounded on the one hand by Schiller's *Robbers*, on the other by the first part of *Faust*, the entire gap between these being filled by the popular versions of Kotzebue's plays and Madame de Staël's book on Germany."¹⁷ And though not so charmingly phrased, it must at least be granted that Holcroft's translations of the French melodrama had more influence on the English drama than Hazlitt's ruminations regarding prize fights.

Yet Holcroft was not always inclined to follow his originals verbatim, for he believed that "translation though a task most

¹⁶ From the *Nouveau Théâtre Allemand*, by Friedel and de Bonneville, Paris, 1782-1783. For admissions as to antiquity of article see *Theatrical Recorder*, 1:279; 2:274; 2:275.

¹⁷ *Hazlitt on English Literature*, by Jacob Zeitlin, p. xliv.

irksome to a mind desirous of fame, should, when undertaken, be executed, though not with temerity, with a self-confiding fortitude."¹⁸ Thus he evidently felt when he came to the handling of Beaumarchais's *Mariage de Figaro*,¹⁹ for his version has been said by a more modern editor not to warrant even the name of translation.²⁰ On many occasions the original author, on seeing sudden changes come about in the thing he knew so well, might exclaim in the words of Quince to Bottom: "Bless thee, thou art translated!" When Holcroft pilfered the *Mariage de Figaro* from the lips of the Parisian players during a week or ten days of performance, he made an adaptation and nothing more. The plot is the same; the incidents are the same; but the language is anglicized, sprinkled with prevailing British profanity instead of French and with English poetic quotations instead of French; and even Holcroft's printed text — longer than the acting version — shows considerable cutting and compression in the dialogue. Beaumarchais produced a piece of class satire, appropriate to his own vicinity and people; Holcroft's work is only partially of that character, and with its lighter tone was well adapted to the audiences before which it played and to receive an enthusiastic reception in many repeated performances.

Two more of our author's outstanding successes were adaptations from the French. Though his biographer calls *The School for Arrogance* ²¹ "for the most part original" ²² and he himself pleaded "difference of arrangement, additional incidents, and essential changes in character" and acknowledged only the taking of "the plan, several of the characters, and some of the scenes," ²³ from *Le Glorieux* of Destouches,²⁴ a careful comparison reveals all the incidents in Destouches and all the characters transplanted into the Holcroft play. Nevertheless this play also was anglicized and the dialogues are more imitated than translated and — what is most important of all — Holcroft added a new character, that of Lady Peckham, who really made the success of the piece before the

¹⁸ From "The Translator's Preface," *Sacred Dramas*, 1786.

¹⁹ Preface to *Follies of a Day*, acted at Covent Garden, 14 December 1784, printed 1785.

²⁰ F. de Morescot, editor of Paris, 1870 edition of Beaumarchais, vol. 3, p. lxxviii.

²¹ Acted at Covent Garden, 4 February 1791, printed 1791.

²² *Memoirs*, 2:71, p. 117.

²³ Preface to *The School for Arrogance*.

²⁴ First played in Paris in 1732.

London footlights, with her boastful pride of a position and family entirely imaginary to herself making an excellent foil for the false pretensions of an equally boastful and equally insincere foreigner, all leading to an excellent denouement, more amusing indeed than that of Destouches. In the other play, *Deaf and Dumb*,²⁵ a deluge of tears and affecting pity which he took from *L'Abbé de l'Épée* by J. N. Bouilly,²⁶ Holcroft effected more changes in details but less of an alteration in the general effect. He stated it to be "by no means a mere translation" and claimed to have brought out characters more strongly and to have invented and constructed an entirely new act.²⁷ And still his remarks tend to exaggerate the importance of the alterations which really only amounted to a new juggling of scenes, characters, and incidents; and it must be said that the final result which achieved universal approbation was due to the original story and not to the manner or method of the adaptation.

Holcroft was for many years a playwright, and we must ask, before we leave the subject of foreign influences and tendencies, if, in the many scripts which he handed to London managers over the long period of his activity as a playwright, foreign productions did not exert a material influence. We find that the character of his very first play, from what we can learn of it,²⁸ was similar to a later production of his own.²⁹ We find that the *Tale of Mystery*,³⁰ called "the first" and "incomparably the best melodrama that the English stage has produced,"³¹ was soon followed by *The Lady of the Rock*,³² which was the same type in every way. In Holcroft's *Duplicity*³³ there was probably no more similarity to Destouches' *Le Dissipateur* than to any of the English plays on gambling by Moore or by Shirley, by Mrs. Centlivre or by Garrick,³⁴ or, for that matter, to the prevailing habit of gambling then current in "the

²⁵ Acted at Drury Lane, 24 February 1801, printed 1801.

²⁶ Written in 1795, first acted in 1799.

²⁷ Preface to *Deaf and Dumb*.

²⁸ *The Shepherdess of the Alps*, 1777. See *Modern Language Notes*, December 1914; and *Notes and Queries*, ser. ix., vol. viii., p. 279; ser. xi., vol. ix., p. 68; ser. xi., vol. x., pp. 2-3.

²⁹ *The Noble Peasant*, acted at the Haymarket 2 August 1784, printed 1784.

³⁰ Acted at Covent Garden 13 November 1802, printed 1802.

³¹ John Adolphus, *Memoirs of John Bannister*, 2:98.

³² Acted at Drury Lane 12 February 1805, printed 1805.

³³ Acted at Covent Garden 13 October 1781, printed 1781.

³⁴ Shirley's, 1633/1634/1637; Moore's, 1753/1753; Mrs. Centlivre's, 1705/1705, revived 1758; Garrick's version of Shirley, 1757/1758.

world" in England. In *Love's Fraillies*,³⁵ he professes and shows slight indebtedness to a German play; though he has transformed a mere German love affair into obvious social and political argumentation. In *Knave or Not?*³⁶ he admits picking here and there from Goldoni,³⁷ and ends with what he called "commonplace satire," though it was taken for disgruntled radicalism. In *He's Much to Blame*,³⁸ Holcroft speaks of, and has used, the *Clavigo* of Goethe and *Le Complaisant* of De Ferriol Pont-de-Veyle. In *The Vindictive Man*,³⁹ he took a small part of his plot from a French moral tale,⁴⁰ though he also pilfered to ill-advantage from his own *Road to Ruin*.

Still all of these references and indications of sources are of little importance in their individual instances. It is only in the accumulation that they acquire significance; for we begin to find that there were very few plays indeed where the foreign influence was not felt. That many of the plays were publicly condemned, and one of them furnished the occasion for Lamb's essay "On the Custom of Hissing in the Theatres," is not so determining after all. The number of presentations mounts up, and indicates in what measure with an unoriginal dramatist the foreign drama was encroaching upon the British boards. His attempt in *Seduction*⁴¹ to import the Parisian system of making a new "scene" for each individual entrance and exit and to experiment with the dramatic unities in their strictest sense, keeping the time within twelve hours, the scene unchanged, the stage constantly occupied, and the plot single, this attempt to import French notions met with no success. We cannot even attribute his general moralizing tendencies to the French philosophers of the period, for the British stage was moralizing on its own behalf, and had been ever since Moore's *Gamester* and Lillo's *London Merchant*, or even since Steele's *Conscious Lovers* and Cibber's *Love's Last Shift*. *Pamela* was moralizing, and so was the *Sentimental Journey*. There was

³⁵ Acted at Covent Garden 5 February 1794, printed 1794.

³⁶ Acted at Drury Lane, 25 January 1798, printed 1798.

³⁷ *Il Raggatore* (1756), *La Serva Amatora* (1752), and *Il Padre de Famiglia* (1750).

³⁸ Acted at Covent Garden 13 February 1798, printed 1798.

³⁹ Acted at Drury Lane 20 November 1806, printed 1807.

⁴⁰ *L'Heritage*, by M. Bret.

⁴¹ Acted at Drury Lane 12 March 1787, printed 1787. Based upon a French novel (still read) *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, by P. A. F. C. Laclos, for its background and many of its dissolute characters.

nothing new in this. *The School for Scandal* was as much light social satire as was *Le Mariage de Figaro*. No! we cannot grant much distinction to Holcroft for bringing France to England—except in the matter of the melodrama—when France and England were so nearly of one mind and so commonly making reciprocal exchanges already. He was simply another point of contact, physical in his pirating journeys and mental in his pilferings from books. He merely indicates the already existing interdependence of France and England at this time in these matters. If Diderot was affected by British middle class drama, Holcroft and Mrs. Inchbald were equally industrious in transcribing French plays.

CAESAR'S "THRASONICAL BRAG"¹

By J. S. REID
Cambridge, England

I have seen Caesar's "Veni, Vidi, Vici," absurdly classed among apocryphal utterances placed in the mouths of notable characters. But nothing in Caesar's life is better attested. He had the words emblazoned on a banner, which was carried in the procession when he celebrated his triumph at Rome over Pharnaces. My desire now is to call attention to the *form* which Caesar gave to his announcement. A terse description of human life, attributed to Democritus, has been preserved, and Caesar may have had it in mind. It runs thus: ὁ κόσμος σκηνή : ὁ βίος πάροδος · ἦλθες, εἶδες, ἀπῆλθες ("you come on the boards, you look round, off you go."—Mullach's 'Fragmenta Democriti,' 219). One may compare a very pithy brief survey of life by a modern French writer:

"On entre, on crie
Et c'est la vie!
On crie, on sort
Et c'est la mort."

¹ "Caesar's thrasonical brag of 'I came, saw, and overcame'" — Rosalind in *As You Like It*, act v, scene 2.

BOOK REVIEWS

Discourses on Dante, by Charles H. Grandgent. vi+201 pp. Harvard University Press, 1924.

As the author states in his preface, this collection of two poems and eight articles constitutes a "tribute to the world-wide commemoration of the great poet." The ten "tributes" are mostly contributions of the author that appeared in journals, reports or programs centering about the sixcentenary year, 1921. A few titles will suffice to indicate their scope: *Six Hundred Years After*; *Dante and Italy*; *Dante's Verse*; *Six Centuries, Sonnet*. Out of a lifetime devoted to the subject the dean of American Dante scholars chooses for the rising generation these ten thoughts on the greatest Italian. Some of the articles are really little sermons built up on texts taken from the life or writings of the poet. Man is set above the beasts by his desire to know the Truth, God. His beatitude is in proportion to his approach to this goal. No matter how badly affairs seem to go, the poet does not lose faith in the ultimate accomplishment of the infinite plan. Love keeps man in harmony with man and the Infinite. Success is due not to natural gifts alone but to the steadfast cultivation of talents. Light is thrown on some obscure passages in the *Vita Nuova* by the well grounded suggestion that they may be adaptations from poems of Dante now lost. The question raised in the sonnet that closes the volume is one may well give us pause:

Do beauty, honor, dignity progress?
The grandest voice that ever spake from man
Was still in death six hundred years ago.

C. E. Y.

James Harrington's Oceana. Edited with Notes by S. B. Liljegren. Lund and Heidelberg, 1924.

All students interested in the religious and political theories of the seventeenth century will welcome this complete and accurate reprint of James Harrington's *Oceana*. Preserving as it does, in many parts, the vocabulary and idiom of the less literary English of the time, the book will have equal value for the linguist. The editor, by his close examination of Harrington's sources and by his copious excerpts from them, has not only shown convincingly the extent of Harrington's reading, but has also laid before the reader a considerable body of political philosophy not readily accessible. One regrets that the editor was prevented from giving an adequate historical and critical introduction. But the work of H. F. Russell Smith (Cambridge, 1914) affords that, and the two books together give a clear idea of Harrington's contribution to political philosophy.

ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON

Die Kulturwerte der deutschen Literatur von der Reformation bis zur Aufklärung, by Kuno Francke. xiv + 638 pp. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1923.

This is volume two of Professor Francke's *Die Kulturwerte der deutschen Literatur in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. It is divided into three main sections, (1) Reformation and Gegenreformation, (2) Absolutismus, (3) Aufklärung.

Only a few of the most interesting points can be mentioned in this brief review. The author maintains that humanism was much overestimated not only by contemporary representatives but by later writers, and states that the great poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the mystics of the fourteenth had a deeper insight into the problems of life. However, he declares that the humanistic poets received a beautifying influence from the Italian Renaissance and that the power of Erasmus lay in the fact that he tried to preach the "philosophy of Christ," an undogmatic Christianity. In the philosophy of life of Leibniz, as contrasted with Locke's, nothing is static, but everything is dynamic. Thomasius is praised for his efforts for the education of woman. The discussion of the conflict between pietism and rationalism is particularly interesting. The author draws brief parallels, in their views on poetry, between Opitz and Ronsard and Gottsched and Boileau. But both Opitz and Gottsched were concerned more about outward form than about spirit. Fleming is defended against the usual charge of being a mere sentimental weakling. The Jesuit Spee receives due recognition for his protest against witch trials. Gerhardt's hymns, the author says, were written not for the church but for the heart. Bach and Händel's oratorios are interpreted as an instinctive expression of suffering, longing, and striving for light and freedom. Professor Francke finds little of the spiritual and artistic in Günther and considers Gellert's popularity almost incomprehensible, for Gellert leaves the impression of being only "halb," but Nicolai, in spite of his shortcomings, is called an important figure in the expansion of German thinking. The noble life of the Jew Moses Mendelssohn is a symbol of the victory of Enlightenment over prejudice. Klopstock is recognized as the first great apostle of high national ideals and of a universal brotherhood, but was not as great as Herder. Klopstock was exaggerated spirituality, Herder an interpreter of humanity, and Wieland refined sensuality. In the discussion of Lessing, covering some sixty pages, his "tragic greatness" is set forth with sympathetic feeling, but his strictures on French classical drama and his failure to give proper credit to Gottsched's service to the formal side of literature are criticized.

Professor Francke has a literary style that carries the reader along from one sentence to the next in expectant attention, and there is no question about the soundness of his scholarship.

C. B. W.

Language, by Otto Jespersen. 448 pp. George Allen & Unwin, London, 1922.

This is one of the rare books which advance a familiar subject to a new stage. Professor Jespersen is a scientist whose thinking is not smothered by his knowledge of practically everything which has been achieved in his

field. He sees fresh problems, fresh evidence, and fresh types of evidence, and applies a felicitous method to the interpretation of evidence as it bears on problems old and new. A book on language is usually in a fairly conventional form. This book is cast quite unconventionally. After a historical summary of the work of the older scientists, with critical estimates of the value of their methods and results—this is not a novel practice, but some of the scientists are comparative strangers, and much of the emphasis is new—the language of the child is examined at length, with a wealth of objective material, and the language of the foreigner and of the woman less extensively and more speculatively. The manner and the causes of linguistic change are re-examined thoroughly. Striking suggestions are offered to account for the origin of grammatical endings. Some severe truths are spoken about the study of etymology, though not all the strictures are just. There is a re-statement of the author's well-known views on the progress of language. The speculations on sound symbolism and on the origin of language are suggestive but not absolutely convincing. The most promising feature of the book, however, is the conception of language as not a mechanism, or a psychological process, or a living biological organism which has a behavior of its own, or even as a social or communal process, but as a not altogether coherent succession of separate actions by individuals, however much each individual's actions may be influenced by the tendency to imitate, or by his desire to secure the approval of his associates. Professor Jespersen does not always handle his material under the influence of this conception, but he has the merit of realizing its significance most of the time.

T. A. K.

La Vita Nuova di Dante Alighieri, edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by Kenneth McKenzie, xxvi+172 pp. D. C. Heath & Co. New York, 1922.

With this first American edition of the *Vita Nuova* Professor McKenzie has provided for our students of Italian an important part of Dante's work in suitable form. The completeness of the vocabulary, the careful introduction free from presentation of fine spun theories, and the full but simple notes make the text one that can be used by students, and in this country there are many of them, who turn to the study of Dante after a single college course in Italian. The editor has had this type of student in mind and given him an edition that does not check his progress and confuse his mind by the constant intrusion of discussions of all the many theories, sane and otherwise, that have throughout the centuries been set forth by numberless Dante students and scholars. The reviewer likes the way in which the editor sets before us the *Vita Nuova* as primarily autobiography, first hand statements of events that powerfully influenced the spiritual and intellectual life of the supreme poet of the Middle Ages.

C. E. Y.

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THE MINIATURES OF THE ELLESMERE CHAUCER

By EDWIN FORD PIPER
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The miniatures of the Ellesmere manuscript have been somewhat neglected. As illuminations they are rich in color; their value as social documents is large. But neither the decorative nor the social values are emphasized in this paper. To the dating of the manuscript it offers nothing new. On the two artists its suggestions are brief.¹ It concerns itself mainly with the pictures as characterizations of Chaucer's pilgrims. The characterizations follow seriatim accompanied by halftones of the figures as they stand in the Facsimile of the Ellesmere published by the Manchester University Press in 1911.² For the study other pictures were examined, particularly the cuts by Mr. Hooper³ and the process engravings printed in the volumes of the Chaucer Society.

¹ "These colored figures in the Ellesmere MS have evidently been drawn by two different persons. The little pieces of ground on which the latter places his figures mark the work done by him. His drawing is not so good as the first hand's; and his colors are badly ground and of poor quality."—W. H. Hooper, *Chaucer Society*, 96, Appendix 3.

The second hand paints Chaucer and the five succeeding figures of Monk, Nun's Priest, Second Nun, Canon's Yeoman, and Manciple. He makes one good horse, Chaucer's; the others lack character. The General Prologue gave him costume for the Monk; for the dress of the other five he found in the text a few hints—almost nothing explicit. His faces show likenesses in modelling.

² "That markings have been omitted is shown by the absence of the second sketch of the Knight (a very poor one) and of the directions for the drawing, say, of the Canon's Yeoman."—*Athenaeum*, August 19, 1911, p. 211. Omission is to be regretted. The process engraving in the Chaucer Society shows the word *yeman* to the right of that miniature. Such a word fixes the place of the figure; it will often be covered up by the picture. The Facsimile is described in its own Introduction, and in *Athenaeum*, 1911, II, pp. 178, 210.

³ "Mr. W. H. Hooper, the well-known engraver tells me: 'It is many years since I did the work, which was wrought under many difficulties—a bad light

In the Ellesmere all the story tellers except the Miller stand in the outer margin. A rule that each figure face the opening of his tale allows latitude of a few lines. If an adequate niche stood open against the great capital it received the rider. Nine are thus lodged — not all commodiously; in general they are small figures. No adequate stall had been prepared for any other. The remaining fourteen face the text from the side opposite the border finding a niche effect against the lines displaced by the great capital. To the second artist — assuming him to be but one ⁴ — the border afforded only one niche — a large one — for his Chaucer. In general the figures crowd in toward border or text. Naturally size varies with space; the halftones give accurate dimensions — to group the pictures may throw false emphasis on the larger ones.

The Knight with right hand in narrative gesture rides in a short gown of dark material ornamented on the breast with gilt and red. The bag sleeves end in close fitting red cuffs; the hands are in fingerless gloves. Something like a roundlet, a development of the chaperon, serves for hat. Gilt marks all the Knight's accoutrements. A dagger with gilded hilt hangs in the red sheath capped with gilt; from the gilded stirrup droops the long pliable toe of his black shoe; his gilt spur is indefinite as to rowel. The peytrel and the crupper which includes a breech-strap are bossed and tagged with gilt; gilt, too, are the cheek-bars and the bosses of the bridle. The bit is plainly not a curb. The powerful horse is shod all round with shoes notched on the under surface. He exhibits spirit and eagerness; his manageability brings out the easy horsemanship of the Knight.⁵

Since each pilgrim would set out from home on horseback Chaucer describes some provincial outfits. Our artist observes like caution. From the backwoods the Miller jogs in barebacked on a sour-tempered plug in a hackamore of rope.⁶ One guesses his

for one; but I did my best to make it accurate as far as its condition permitted. My instructions were to make the drawing good in such places as time and handling had damaged the work. All the figures are drawn on the margin, so they have suffered the more; the red used was a lead preparation, which had changed to a metallic black, and other colors had turned because of the white used for body being also a lead color.' '' — Spielmann, *Portraits of Geoffrey Chaucer*.

⁴ As always in this paper. Two men may work on one miniature; and back of them may stand a master — the source of ideas and design.

⁵ "The brand on the horse's hip — M, † for *Miles* — is in ink, and probably by a later hand." — Note under Hooper's cut of the Knight.

⁶ The paint about the horse's head has suffered.

mount to be the mill horse with tail trimmed and mane freshly roached for fashionable society. Resentment is written all over this creature even in the treadmill walk. Is it the bagpipe — a horse has sensitive ears? For this sullen mount no deacon would trade a scrub calf.

Black shoes, green hose, heavy drab gown, and large blue hood clothe the Miller. By what right does he wear the enormous sword and the little buckler? Is it a holiday get-up for riding over London Bridge? Or is it against the perils of the road?

The Miller's horsemanship is not at fault; with the bulky pipes in his arms no rider could avoid an awkward pose. To Chaucer's description of the Miller's bestial face our artist has failed of complete justice, — that would tax the powers of a Hogarth, — but he has surely remembered the mouth-and-furnace image. He is mindful, too, of the thumbs; he has gilded them both.⁷

Of the Reeve's whim of riding hindmost the dappled pony appears a little impatient. It arches its neck and tosses a well-groomed head and pushes on against the jointed bit. Saddle, breaststrap, and bridle are simple; the spur is small and sharp; the broadsword outdoes the Miller's.

The face of the Reeve is thin, sour, sardonic, — the mouth sneering. In the miniature emphasis falls on thin shank and white hair, for the great red hood is banked away from the neck, and the long blue surcoat is tucked up far enough to show no bulge of calf within the red hose. The costumer reserves one significant touch for the Reeve — the keys at his girdle.

To the total effect of the company the Cook adds a striking note of the farcical and the vulgar. Our artist first interprets this in terms of costume: short red jacket, white apron, legs bare of hose, visible underwear,⁸ split shoe, protrusive toes. The dirty bandage and the sores on the shin obtrude indelicately.⁹ In keeping with all this shamelessness is the face — the countenance of a loose-lipped, uncurried thug.

On a horse shod all round with the curious notched shoes the Cook without spur or crupper straddles over a pad and surcingle. It is not horsemanship that keeps his hands from the reins. The

⁷ To this day for fineness of flour the ball of the thumb is the last test.

⁸ The Cook wears breeches, as drawers were then called, but no hose.

⁹ It was not by accident in the Prologue that Chaucer thrust a criticism of the sore into the list of toothsome dishes; he there gave the reader the shock of disgust produced by the rascal's presence.

right brandishes a professional tool, the three-pronged flesh-hook, — that iron so often pictured in the hands of devils tormenting roasting souls; the left is busy helping out the speaker's drunken hat-in-hand volubility. Meanwhile that best judge of a rider, the horse, looks round reproachfully to see why this drunken fool weaves about, sticking now heel, now knee, meaninglessly into his sides. The illuminator has not boggled the expression of the horse.

The miniaturist of the Cook was mindful of the rider's fall; and he has not forgotten the Cook's drunken wrath in the dramatic pose of the Manciple. The Manciple's white girdle carries a red pouch from which he has just taken a bottle of wine — the bargain-sweetener. The Cook is the object of his attentions: he masters his irritation and the disgust of his refined senses, and seeks reconciliation with that greasy rascal through the old peace maker. His horse will none of the Cook's company, shies off.

In dress the Manciple is stylish. The wide-sleeved blue gown lined with red, the white collar and cuffs, the red hose and black shoes are up-to-date for travel. Finer still is the flat red cap over the abundant curls so carefully pressed and combed. The mustache and forked beard are trim, almost dandified. The full oval face expresses shrewdness; the eyes are secretive. In the Manciple's guile there will be no crudity.

With the refinement of his garb and toilet his hired outfit is not quite in keeping. His saddle is respectable but lacks peytrel and crupper: his spur will get notice from horse and company; the end of the shank has been beaten out into enormous sawtooth points.

The Man of Law's horse, a tractable dun with white spot in forehead, carries a respectable outfit. A curious noseband encircles both jaws. Stirrup strap, peytrel, and bridle are studded with white. There is no crupper. The saddle has flat skirts, but no horn, no cantle. It looks like an old form of the English hunting saddle — not the only one in these miniatures.

The Sergeant's "medlee cote" shows parti-color, half-red, half-blue with red and white barring; a narrow width of green ends the skirt below the white trimming. Cape and sleevefold are edged with white. The sleeves are unfellowed among the pilgrims: from the elbow down the bag sleeve is halved — the lower half tight fitting, the upper falling curtain-wise around it. Notable is the absence of the girdle "with barres smale." The artist may have felt implied omissions in "Of his array telle I no lenger tale,"

for he pictures a white coif under the white hood.¹⁰ Red hose and easy black shoes complete the costume.

The face is judge-like; the figure has poise and control. With "slick heels" the Sergeant jogs unconcernedly Canterburyward.

In the figure of the Wife of Bath there is nowhere a suggestion of the apologetic. Obtrusive, aggressive, high-colored, she bestrides her well-combed ambling sorrel. Gilt is the dominant note in her decorations. Stirrup and cheekbars and bosses are gilt, as are her cuffs and her girdle. A net of golden thread or golden wire confines her hair. Her close-fitting red gown is hidden below the hips in the protecting blue footmantle. The strings of her manish black hat cross through a loop on her breast.

Some details of her trappings deserve notice. Her riding whip may have metal tips on its divided lash. The angle between the cheekbars shows the bit to be jointed. From the position of the visible girth one might infer double rigging for the saddle. The spur is of moderate size, white, with a five-pointed rowel.

This woman knows how to ride. She leans slightly forward in the saddle, adjusting herself unconsciously to the motions of the horse. She can preach as unconcernedly from the back of her side-wheeler as from a chair by the fireplace. Her horse recognizes a mastering hand; in look, in motion, he expresses amiability, obedience, and training.

In the Friar the artist achieves strong individuality with few and simple effects. The lack of a saddle, the mood of horse and rider, the quarterstaff for his favorite sport — these are telling strokes.

There is no spur, no stirrup: from the breaststrap we infer pad and surcingle. Out of drawing as the small horse is he seems a gentle plodder; eye, ear, and gait express willingness. On his back lolls our plausible Friar with the air of a modern drummer concentrating on his listeners and relishing the visible effects of his story.

For the garb of the Summoner Chaucer mentions only garland and mock buckler. The loaf is the horseplay of a village cut-up; the flowery crown, the ribaldry of a summoner on pilgrimage. Hood or hat is none. Red hose, short blue jacket, and white collar belong to the ordinary dress of the day. Our artist has attempted

¹⁰ "He wears the characteristick distinction of a Sergeant, . . . the coif."
— Todd, *Illustrations*, p. 245.

perspective in showing both feet of the rider. The letter of summons is characteristic; the conspicuous broadsword is half brag-gadocio.¹¹

White marks the edges of the simple riding pad and studs every visible strap. The bridle lacks noseband and front band: the small spur shows five moderately fine points.

The Summoner's fire-red face is heavy featured and something savage. His eyes are wide apart, and though contracted, stare. He knows the seamy side of parish life and believes therein. Reverence and sympathy are foreign to this face. For such sentimentality the Summoner would feel contempt.

This fellow is much on horseback about his bounds "to reysen up a rente." Mount and riding whip are doubtless his own. The head of the horse is crowded between two lines of text; when extricated, as in Hooper's cut, the beast has the air of stepping aimlessly, as if used to nibbling along the road.

In bringing out personality in the pilgrims the illuminator gives each a horse distinctive in character and pose. No two sets of trappings are alike, no two spurs. Nor is this diversity mere artist whim: the handmade spur was not standardized; it expressed the painstaking individuality of the maker.

Our Clerk may ride some "Hobson's choice." The thin mane and tail, the poise of head and ear declare its weakness, its unwillingness to move. This crowbait stands with feet braced out to keep from falling over; it is thoroughly aware that no hand is on the rein.

The bridle leather is red without ornament; the bit is a curb with a bar joining the shanks; the throatlatch runs into the white boss at the junction of headband with headstall. The necessary spur is fitted with a small rowel in the form of a star. One marvels at seeing no stirrup, surcingle, breaststrap or crupper attached to the cushion which saves the rider from being halved by the brute's vertebrae.

The Clerk's long violet gown has edging of white for hood, cape, and skirt; white, too, are the cuffs; skullcap and hose are red; the low shoes are black and broad of toe. High color marks a significant feature: red and blue for the books under arm, red for the book in the right hand.

¹¹ Why are Miller, Reeve, and Summoner the only persons pictured with swords? We are told that the Yeoman wears a sword; but we have no picture of him.

The Clerk may care about his own comfort but he has hired a laughable, a torturing outfit for this journey. He must be unskilled in such practical matters. His eyes are straightforward, his face fine and serious and self forgetful, with just a hint of hollowness of cheek. His pose reveals the complete absorption of a man who does not care to read the clock.

The Merchant's "motteelee" is of blue and white flowers on a red ground. Its wide bag sleeves end in snug blue cuffs; blue is the collar, blue also the cloth which appears in the division of the skirt. The gown appears to be laced down the front and bound in at the waist with a narrow girdle. The "Flaundrish bever hat" (or is it a cap?) has a roll brim and a high narrowing crown. The black boot ends in a long soft toe; its outside lacing is neat, close and trim.

It is not clear whether the Merchant's saddle is double-rigged or has one wide girth. There is breaststrap but no crupper: all the leathers are studded with white. The bridle lacks noseband and front-band; its throatlatch rises almost to the top of the headstall. The bit is of one piece, probably a curb. The five-pointed rowel against which the galloping horse flings out his head in protest is a cruel spur.¹²

Our artist is faithful to the forked beard and to the "hye" pose in challenging eye and proudly stiff backbone.

High color marks the fashionable dress of the Squire. His white shoe ends in a long soft point; his white hose may be ermined; his short green cloak is a meadow embroidered with red and white flowers; at the neck a white collar rises from within. The cloak collar itself has an ornamental rope, probably jewelled. His girdle is like the collar, but carries pendants tipped with bells. The white flower device in the tall blue cap is embroidered, perhaps with jewels, too.

The gilt-bordered saddle rises in the back like a war saddle and is provided with leather skirts to protect clothing from the sweat of the horse. The triangular stirrup fits close; the shank of the gilt spur is long, the rowel large with eight slender points. Bridle, arsoon, and peytrel are bossed and tagged in white and gilt.

Here is grace and skill on the back of a spirited curvetter. The flying sleeves and straps are expressive of speed. Abundant curls

¹² The pose of the horse is, to be sure, adjusted to the foliage of the border; but the painter has put in the horse's mood. Another steed — the Man of Law's — goes stringhalt over a troublesome branch.

cover the ears of the Squire: his features are fine, his face ardent with the joy of the sport.

The Franklin is mounted on a well-broken easy stepper. His saddle is rigged with double girth and breaststrap but lacks crupper. All the trappings are of black leather with a few white bosses for ornament. Notably long is the shank of the cheekbar.

To the Franklin's white beard the illustrator is faithful; but he supplies details not listed in Chaucer's condensed description. Above the abundant white hair he sets a blue hat with a rolling brim. There must be a gown: it is parti-red-and-blue with white barrings running full circle, and collar and cuffs of fur. The boot is black, the spur indistinct.¹³ The white purse is conspicuous; the "anlas" would hang out of sight on the left of the figure. Florid countenance, straightforward eye, good horsemanship, age with unbroken strength, with these our artist took some pains in his interpretation of the Franklin.

The Physician rides ungirdled in a blood-red gown with green cuffs; his cape and hood are slate-blue trimmed with white. Red hose and low black shoe complete his costume. Breaststrap and stirrup, double girth and saddle skirt, all without ornament, stand for the trappings. The black leather bridle lacks throatlatch as well as noseband; the spur wheel shows five long slender teeth.

That the green flask should occupy the hands of a doctor on horseback is out of place; it is introduced by the artist as a professional object by way of characterization. This was a common practice among illustrators: our illuminator shows us beads, books, hounds, quarterstaff, flask, penner, fleshhook, cross, letter, bagpipe, keys, purse, coif, girdle with bells.

The Doctor's face expresses concentration — the look of pride in accuracy of judgment. His horse walks cautiously with a sense that no hand is on the rein; he dislikes responsibility and hopes instantly for the touch which will show the master's will.

The Pardoner is clothed in a loose red gown without girdle, blue hose, soft black shoe, and peaked red cap. The vernicle, the male, the latten cross set with large showy stones are professional and characteristic tokens. The chin is weak, retreating. As in Chaucer's description long, thin, yellow tresses overspread his shoulders, and the pop eyes stare out of his beardless countenance.

His trappings show individuality. The spur-shank is jointed at

¹³ Hooper in the cuts for the Chaucer Society represents the spur as a five-pointed rowel of moderate size.

the heel; the bridle is a simple headstall with a very long cheekbar; the saddle is double-rigged without breaststrap or crupper. Apparently black sweat-leathers run down to the stirrup.

The horse's gait is nondescript, its disposition long-suffering; on it a rider might carry any kind of bundle.

In the figure of the Shipman the artist touches lightly the comedial traits of the unskillful rider. The sailor may have laughed at lubbers afloat; he now bestrides a sleepy, draggie-tail carthorse. The heavy-footed brute lurches ponderously to port and starboard; the rider keeps tight line and stiff backbone.

From the stirrup a simple saddle is inferred; it lacks a crupper. Small white bosses decorate the black breaststrap and bridle. The long cheekbar takes the form of a cross; the spur is small, five-pointed. The seaman's dark "falding" gown is of knee length. He wears white collar and cuffs, black hose, black shoe banded white at the top, and a headgear no longer clearly defined in form and color.¹⁴ A red baldric for the red-hilted dagger completes his outfit.

The painting shows a bold, independent, dominating speaker; the pose may be that of the patriot rebuking the "loller."

The horse of the Prioress is gentle and willing — a creature with dependable nerves — unshod, a steady walker. A light touch is enough for the reins. Crupper and breaststrap imply a saddle; the bridle lacks noseband and throatlatch. Ten white rosettes ornament the visible trappings of black leather — one marks the joining of rein and cheekbar.

Saunders notes the dress of the Prioress as Benedictine — black cloak and hood over white tunic and headdress. Red coral beads hang from the left wrist. The woman's face expresses suffering and pity, the emotional accompaniment to her story of the child martyr.¹⁵

Individuality marks the poet's outfit. There is mottled leather-work,¹⁶ a saddle blanket with notched border and perforations. The saddle has a low fork and a cantle fitting round behind the hips; it is anchored fore and aft by peytrel and arsoun, the latter

¹⁴ Todd, *Illustrations*, p. 254. "He wears a furred cap of a dark or dirty crimson color."

¹⁵ The Prioress, contrary to modern custom, sits on the off side: this is the illuminator's solution of his problem. The niche is ready; he wants a full length figure to face the border.

¹⁶ Todd, *Illustrations*, p. 269. "The trappings of his pony are partially gilt."

with single hip strap and double pendants. The bridle is plain, the bit no curb, and there is a hitch rein. The spur, too, is individual, — its wheel a large sawtooth star which seems immovable in the shank.

A horseman would take to Chaucer's palfrey as an up-and-coming easy goer. The reins are not in the bridle hand; perhaps the illuminator's problem is simplified by giving the farther hand the gesture. The loop formed by the loose end of Chaucer's belt has been variously misunderstood.

The girdle is a distinctive feature — this its sole occurrence in Chaucer portraits. Six other portraits, among them the Occleve, repeat the penner, the fastening of the gown, the exact folds of the headdress as we have them in the Ellesmere. Tradition or fact — that record begins only a few years after the death of Chaucer.

The second artist was good at inventing costumes — he had to be — the text was silent. Where, one may ask, did he get his notions for the dress of the poet? He is in the tradition. It is the custom to assume derivation from the Occleve, the only portrait accepted as authentic. The assumption is easy, validity another matter.¹⁷ Indeed, the Ellesmere may be the earlier picture.

Spielmann in *The Portraits of Geoffrey Chaucer* hazarded the theory that since the full-length portraits show "a bigly made man with the legs of a dwarf" Chaucer may have been crippled, deformed. Koch, *Englische Studien*, vol. 30, pp. 449-50, in reviewing Spielmann's book asked how the soldier and servitor could possibly have been a cripple. And further with respect to the Ellesmere miniature: "*Indes wäre ein andere einwand möglich, nämlich: da der obere teil des bildes im ganzen ausgeführt ist als der untere, so könnten sehr wohl das pferd und die zuthaten des reiters erst eine spätere hinzufügung sein, um Chaucer mit dem übrigen pülgern gleichmässig darzustellen.*" A shrewd guess: but the disproportion is largely in the upper half of the picture.

In little figures faults are hidden, in large ones, obvious. If we disregard the "houndes" of the Monk the Chaucer stands first in height and width among the miniatures. Its obvious distortion is not personal — as in dwarfish hands and arms, the nearer one the smaller. The artist found troubles awaiting him in ambush.

The order of work on the page is text, border, picture. The size, the proportions, the pose of a figure must be adjusted to an existing niche with its sprays of foliage. Friar and Man of Law

¹⁷ If the publisher kept a sketch of Chaucer the business might be simple.

are painted for small frames; in Chaucer's niche the head of either would come under the knot of foliage. But the second artist draws larger figures. Of his six pilgrims Chaucer alone stands in a niche; and in his plan for the painting this largest of all niches will not suffice. He wants Chaucer's head as high as the knot of foliage, and he paints it there, larger than any other head.

The whole lower half of the picture including a well-drawn horse is fairly self-consistent. In that limited stall the artist uses all his space — his horse crowds margin and border. Chaucer's head is too large for all the rest of the picture: the trunk is the mischief — the artist bridges downward with it in diminishing scale from shoulder to waist. The waist fits the legs; the shoulders will do to support the neck — the artist masks its thickness with gown and hood; the neck belongs to the head — a head in itself finely modelled, no feature out of proportion. It had occurred to me even before reading Koch that, contrary to modern practice, the head was drawn first and the rest of the figure adjusted.

Like Beauneveu our second artist was particular about his heads. All six of them show common excellences in modelling and expression; all are disproportionately large. One quality sets the Chaucer apart. The faces of the other five are done with some freedom; that of Chaucer shows restriction and exactness as if the painter were faithful to a copy or a memory.

Paint the head large — model it with care, adjust the body — such motives work distortion whether one or three hands shape the picture. Space and foliage will limit proportions: is not this the case for the Chaucer? This whole miniature may well be the work of one hand.

For the artist has taken pains — he has done what he tried to do. This picture is distinguished by clearness of outline not alone of the poet, but in the trim geometry of the blossoming meadow, — the other meadows have no flowers, — the formal correctness of the horse, the lines for muscles and mane. This work is clean-cut — it has all the air of a true portrait, as the figure of the Squire has not.¹⁸ The head and face are finely drawn, the texture of the beard is notably superior; we could not trade beards between Chaucer and the Knight without dislocation of tone and style in the pictures.

¹⁸ "The Chaucer portrait while it owes some of its quality to the poor surface of the page on which it is painted has more of the air of reality than the Hoccleve one." — *Athenaeum*, August 19, 1911, p. 211.

This portrait shows resemblances to the Occleve; but it also shows differences. Much of Furnivall's interpretation of the Occleve¹⁹—largely a tribute to the poet—will not apply here. In size the head agrees fairly with the Occleve but not in effect. Here the head is broader in proportion; the mouth is not hidden, the yellow beard is only partly white; this is a younger man. In face and mood this is no teller of beads but a jolly pilgrim, off "to talen and to pleye." The pose in the Ellesmere answers the niche: the figure must face the text; and, as is natural to a rider, the poet's head is inclined a little forward.

For his other Pilgrims this painter collected and organized hints from the Links and the Tales with the descriptions of the General Prologue. What should we expect for his miniature of the poet—unless he has swapped methods—but the best sources? Here is the curious care, the air of verisimilitude, the traditional costume, surely no fancy. Conjecture, moreover, assigns the painting to a date when the face of Chaucer might be well remembered.

Our Monk is all in black—supple, foot-form boots, wide hat, and wide-sleeved gown. The wristbands of gray fur are lacking; notably absent, too, is that curiously wrought golden pin, for one hand governs loose folds of the hood.

The Monk's face²⁰ shows concentration, doubtless on the tragedies so wearying in tone, tempo, and theme. His preoccupation, his easy pose mark a rider whose management is subconscious; this is no greenhorn in the saddle. His nervous racer knows the master's hand—is bridlewise and obedient.

A profusion of gilt or golden bells and bosses decorates all the leather-work. The crupper, though lacking hip strap, carries three long pendants; the cheekbar runs out into a long shank. Individual is the spur with its dozen short fine teeth. The greyhounds wear blue collars with buckles and swivel-rings of gold.

¹⁹ "The face is wise and tender, full of a sweet and kindly sadness at first sight, but with much bonhomie in it on a further look, and with deepest, far-looking, grey eyes. Not the face of an old man, a totterer, but of one with work in yet, looking kindly, though seriously, out on the world before him. Unluckily the parted grey mustache, and the vermillion above and below the lips, render it difficult to catch the expression of the mouth; but the lips seem parted as if to speak. Two tufts of white beard are on the chin; and a fringe of white hair shows from under the black hood. One feels one would like to go to such a man when one was in trouble, and hear his wise and gentle speech."—Furnivall: *Trial Forewords*, p. 93.

²⁰ "In the manuscript the face of our Monk is a little injured."—Todd, *Illustrations*, p. 239.

For the costume of the Nun's Priest our illustrator's fancy supplies a red gown so long that it hides all but the toe of the white shoe. A girdle is indicated by the wrinkle about the waist; collar and cuffs are white. The red cap is topped by a button or knot of the same color; the blue hood ends in a long liripipe.

The trappings are of wide blue leather with white bosses. Crupper and breaststrap testify to a saddle or pad. The bit, a simple, solid curb, teases the tongue and jaws of the horse.

In contrast to the palfrey of the Monk this nag is negative in temperament, unintelligent. He looks as if he feared to anger a captious overlord. He is a jade: his bushy tail needs the comb; there is much lost motion in his pacing.

This Priest has regular features, a small mouth, lively eyes, abundant hair. Ruddy cheerfulness radiates from this man; and and as he relates the adventures of Chantecler and Pertelote his body and limbs swing with the stiff-jointed motion of his pacing nag.²¹

Chaucer in the General Prologue gave the Prioress a controlling interest in the ten words which mention the Second Nun. He left the poor "chapeleyn" a dim figure — the teller of a tale uncriticised. For a reader she has little character interest — she did not inspire the painter who here had everything to invent. She rides woman fashion on the nigh side. Both feet are hidden under a voluminous gown which is girt in at the waist, and which shows close fitting sleeves under the wide ones.

There is nothing to indicate a saddle; the bridle is of red leather. The horse is a prentice-job — as if the painter in common with the modern reader did not care for this one. The Nun seems indifferent to the shortcomings of her mount — absorbed in another world, the world of her story.

The Canon's Yeoman rides with the biggest of all spurs, a six-pointed star beaten out of the shank hitched cumbrously to his foot. His red hose is mended at the knee with a white patch. To the line, "Now may I were an hose upon myn heed," our illuminator is faithful. Was the proverb "A man's a man though he wear a hose upon his head," known to both poet and artist? Here goes the disreputable wanderer with hair like that of a modern tramp protruding through this wornout hose, this red chaperon. His green

²¹ Of course no one takes as fact the convention that the tales are told as the horses jog along. Two persons on horseback can hold a conversation. Among four riders some are continually verifying even short speeches.

jacket bound in with blue girdle has bag sleeves with tight red cuffs. His black shoes look very loose.

All the leather of his trappings is blue, its trimming white. Saddle and bridle are simple. There is a saddle skirt; the stirrup is larger than common; the peytrel has been forgotten.

Our painter has done well with the face: he has expressed the animation and excitement of the confused mind. The Yeoman, a little proud of his jargon, and more than a little conscious of his own inadequacy, tackles the mystery from all four quarters. A great change has come over his life; the master that was shall be master no more.

On the Parson's garb Chaucer is silent. Our illuminator has clothed him in rich colors: hood, hose, and long gown are red, shoes black.²² The black girdle is studded with white as are the red straps of his trappings. His outfit is plain — nothing new-fangle.²³ Of the saddle, stirrup and stirrup leather alone are visible. His spur has a monstrous shank; its eight-pointed wheel looks movable.

The artist, lacking a characterizing object gave the Parson a pose of piety and, if we can trust the restoration in Hooper's wood-cut, a face all frankness, simplicity, and eagerness. His horse is not fidgety nor temperamental. No hand is on the rein; but the animal understands the man and confidently accepts responsibility.

This enumeration of worm-eaten circumstance may not be worth while for its own sake; it seems, however, the only adequate index to the abundance, the variety of detail in these pictures.

Try the range of the headdress: it runs from roundlet through many a model of cap and hood and hat to a garland and to the tattered leg of wornout hose. There is many a make of shoe. Of the company less than half wear girdles; and what modes and class distinctions lie between the Squire's dandified belt hung with bells and the apron strings of the Cook.

That the trappings of the horses vary much is no surprise. Does not old harness still cumber pegs to be patched up for emergency? Here is war saddle, hunting saddle, double-rig, single girth, pad and

²² "The surcoat and hood of this amiable and venerable pilgrim, are in the manuscript, of scarlet; such being the habit of a ministering priest in England until the time of Elizabeth." — Todd, *Illustrations*, p. 256.

²³ In his sermon, 430 f., the Parson took note of "curious harneys, as in sadeles, in crouperes, peytrels, and brideles covered with precious clothing, and rich barres, and plates of gold and silver"

surcingle, and no saddle at all. Four pilgrims ride with slick heels; of the visible spurs no two are just alike. The unromantic bridles, the bits are individual; significant is the hackamore of the Miller; some one took pains in outfitting this rustic tough. To dress twenty men in costumes not merely different, but of significantly characteristic differences, that is a work of invention.

What motive lies back of such labor? This is clearly no conventional pattern-making; this is artist work, *con amore*. By his men, by his horses we shall know the kind of man.

In Blake's engraving of the pilgrims the horses are all out of one sire; not so with the mounts of the Ellesmere pilgrims. Here is racer and carthorse and crowbait, the saunterer, the fussy waster of motion, the roadster of your desire, the ungaited plug. This artist knows, too, the look of horsemanship, the terms existing between rider and mount; he poses the figures for confidence and for lack of ease; to some he allots "damfoolishness," to others "showing off."

He knew, moreover, that the same horse varies from moment to moment in temper, mood, and intensity. It whinnies for oats in one tempo, shies from a bush in another. Such insight is not from the single contact; this fellow had studied horses and men elsewhere than from the book.²⁴

To the humors, the personal whims, the characters of the pilgrims he has devoted energy. It is not merely that we cannot trade horses between Clerk and Monk, Miller and Manciple, nor heads between Pardoner and Reeve, Parson and Cook, nor beards between Chaucer and the Knight. Our artist is never fancy free — never confessedly romantic. We are in the presence of a realist. The figures represent an interpretation based upon study — careful study of the General Prologue, the Links, the Tales. This, I believe, is the moving force behind the characteristic objects, the abundance and variety where a conventional pattern would save hours of invention and verification.

At first sight crudities strike the eye, — the faulty drawing, the lack of perspective. A moment's attention finds character in the pictures; a little study reveals the vigorous interpretation of humanity, equinity. It becomes clear that the illustrator appreciated the dramatic moments of the journey, that he had the critical

²⁴ On the kinds of horses mentioned by Chaucer, see the notes of P. Q. Karkeek in *Essays on Chaucer*, Chaucer Society.

sense to grasp Chaucer's use of costume to express personality. To be sure, as with modern scholars, there are slips: and, as always, there were silences which the painter had to interpret.

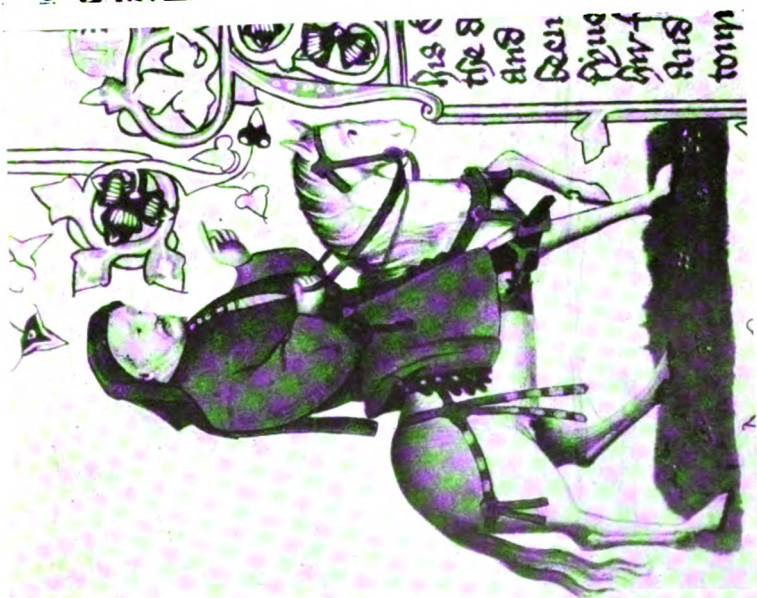
For a medieval illuminator disproportion and faulty perspective are not among the deadly sins. Background might help — a background with geometrical patterns like that in the Occleve portrait. For these riders background should mean landscape — and there is no room. The second artist put in spots of meadow helpful in elevation and perspective. Neither painter can manage a horseman head-on; his rule is to make the horse face the text, yet not all are laid flat on the page. He allows figures to quarter in or away, and he turns the face to get expression. His struggle for perspective is evident even in the drawing of the horses' tails. He is aware of defect — but not wholly dissatisfied with failure. The line of the horizon was still hidden.

To set one of these figures by itself is to intensify the crudity; the artist has made it a part of the page decoration. He was not free to choose its position. On the left of the border niches await him, on the right of the text, jutting lines. When foliage or text cramps a figure into uneasy position the painter tries to cover the awkwardness — draws the pose to a dramatic effect. The Summoner is in bad case — the head of his mount entangled among words — and at that he fits into the decoration. The pictures seem an afterthought — not half enough niches were ready; but the designer working under limitations and difficulties, solved delicate problems of adjustment, balance, emphasis. Border decoration is allowed to hide a bridle ring, the foot of a horse; details must not obtrude. Noteworthy is the simplicity — the figures carry no unnecessary lines.

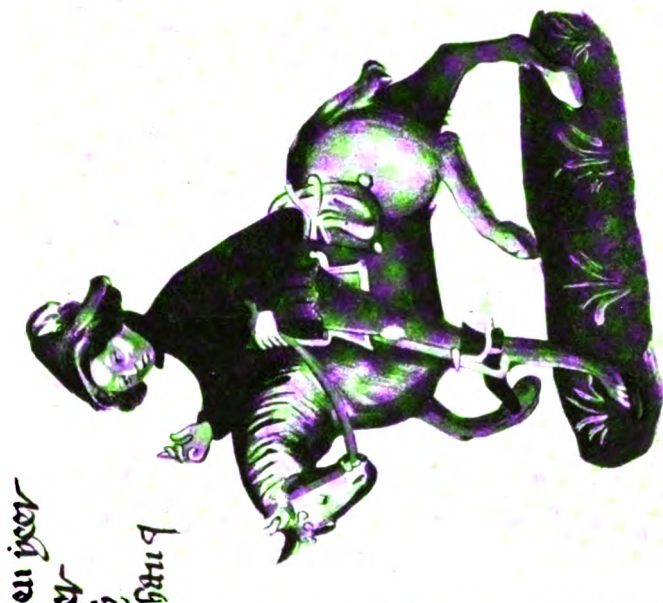
To rightly value the achievements of the Ellesmere painters we must descend from the modern vantage point of accumulations in technique, scholarship, criticism, interpretation. Without that treasury of scholarly comment would the task of equalling the characterization in these miniatures cost three or twenty readings of the Tales?

Other artists have interpreted the pilgrims. In workmanship the romantic cavalcades of Blake and Southard win the eye. But a reader of the General Prologue will turn from their fancies to the crude miniatures of the Ellesmere to find Chaucer's stark realism, his vigorous interpretation of man and horse.

ELLESMERE MINIATURES



CHAUCER

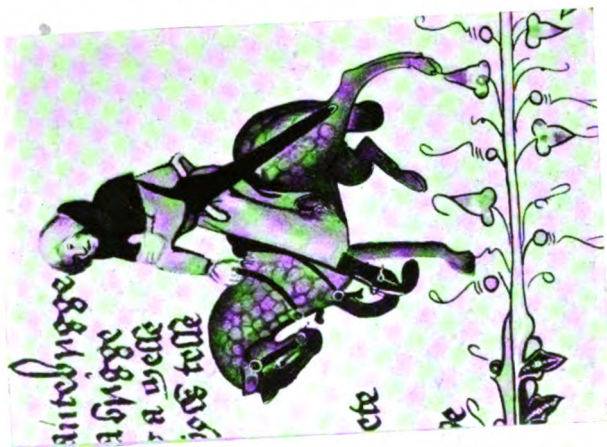


THE CANON'S YEOMAN



THE MONK

ELLESMERE MINIATURES



THE REEVE



THE WIFE OF BATH



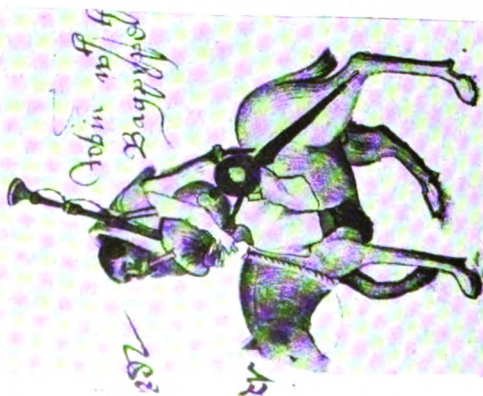
THE MAN OF LAW

ELLESMERE MINIATURES

ayke to sage
a dale
hoke my tale

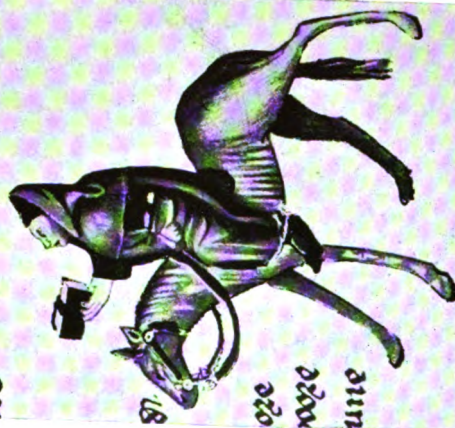


THE NUN'S PRIEST



THE MILLER

roun thou mayst bihold



THE CLERK

ELLESMERE MINIATURES



THE SQUIRE

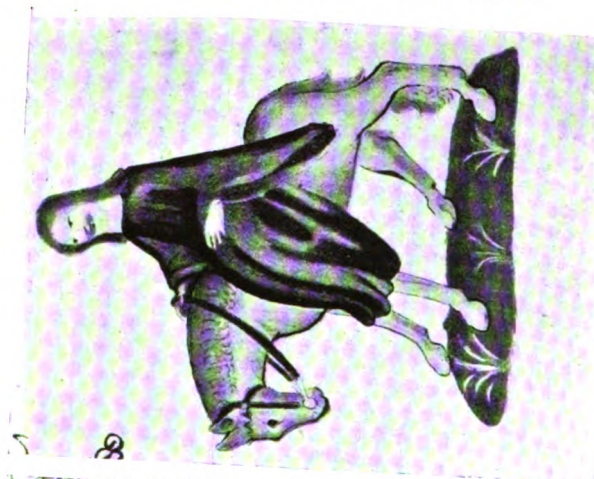


THE MERCHANT



THE PRIORRESS

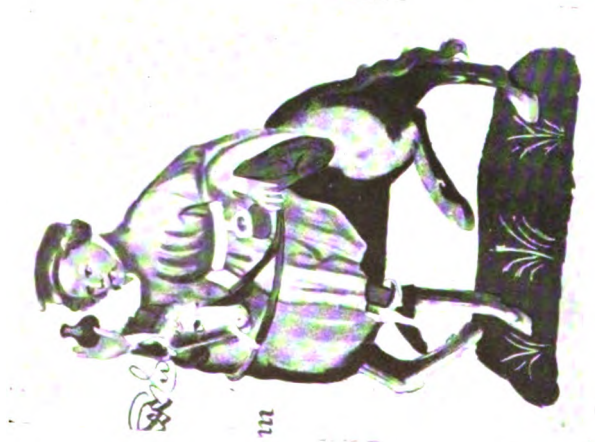
ELLESMERE MINIATURES



THE SECOND NUN



THE SHIPMAN



THE MUNICIPLE

ELLESMERE MINIATURES



THE PARSON
THE PHYSICIAN

THE SUMMONER
THE PARDONER

ELLESMERE MINIATURES



THE FRIAR
THE FRANKELIN



THE COOK
THE KNIGHT



THE APPARATUS OF CAESAR'S TRIUMPHS

By MONROE E. DEUTSCH
University of California

In describing Caesar's magnificent triumphs of 46 and 45 B.C., Suetonius¹ tells us that they were *diverso quemque apparatu et instrumento*. This is both confirmed and clarified by the following passage in Velleius:² "quinque egit triumphos; Gallici apparatus ex citro, Pontici ex acantho, Alexandrini testudine, Africi ebore, Hispaniensis argento rasili constitit."

What Velleius meant by the term *apparatus* can only be surmised. In all probability it included the *fercula* on which the booty, statues and representations of captured cities and the like were carried in the triumphs. Possibly the statues themselves, representing cities, mountains, and rivers³ were also included under this term. Perhaps other utensils used in the triumphs may likewise have been in his mind. By well-nigh unanimous agreement the *fercula* are accepted as comprised in the *apparatus*; as to the rest, opinions vary. Thus Schegkius in his note on the passage declares: "Loquitur de triumphi ferculis, simulacris, imaginibus aliis diversa confectis materia," while Popma says of the tortoise-shell used in the Alexandrine triumph: "testudo secta in laminas et ferculis triumphalibus obducta a Caesare, sic ut solebant obduci lectis et abacis."

Statues could, it is clear, have been made of citrus wood,⁴ ivory, and silver, while tortoise-shell could at most have been employed as a veneer, though of such a use in connection with statues we find no mention.⁵

Quintilian (VI.3.61) declares that in Caesar's triumph the representations of cities were of ivory ("eborea oppida essent transla-

¹ *Iulius* 37.1.

² II.56.2.

³ Tibullus II.5.116, Cicero, *In Pisonem* 25.60, and Tacitus, *Ann.* II.41.3.

⁴ For statues of citrus wood see Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Kunst der Griechen und Römer*, II.277 and footnote 3.

⁵ There is apparently no reference to the use of the *acanthus* (*acacia*) for statues.

ta''); he is making reference apparently⁶ to the Spanish triumph. If Quintilian is accurate, in this triumph, at least, and presumably in the others, the statues were not of the material declared by Velleius to have been characteristic of that triumph. Moreover, Florus⁷ tells us that the statue of the Ocean, borne presumably in the Gallic triumph, was made of gold. Accordingly, the presumption is that the statues were not included by Velleius under the term *apparatus*, and all we can say is that the term referred in all probability to the *fercula* and possibly also to other equipment of the triumphs.⁸

Let us now turn to the material used for each triumph, and endeavor to ascertain the reason for its employment.

For the Gallic, not only the first but the most magnificent, the material employed was the wood of the *citrus*. This tree, the *Thuia articulata* of Wahlenberg and now identified as *Callitris quadrivalvis* (Ventenat)⁹ was found in antiquity and is still found in the mountains of Northwestern Africa, particularly on Mt. Atlas in Mauretania, and also in Cyrenaica and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon. So surely did it grow in Africa and nowhere else that it is frequently referred to merely as African wood without the use of its name. Thus Martial (XIV.91) refers to it as "Libycas . . . trabes," and again calls it "silvae filia Maurae" (XIV.90). Other illustrations are Lucan's (X.144): "sectos Atlantide silva . . . orbes;" Martial's (II.43.9): "Tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbis;" and Statius' (*Silvae* I.3.35): "Mauros . . . postes."

Citrus wood was employed by the Romans for a variety of uses, most of all, however, for beautiful tables or table-tops. These tables are known to have been in use from Cicero's time on.¹⁰ Not only was the solid wood used, but veneers of it were also employed. In addition to tables, we find doors of citrus wood; it was also em-

⁶ Cf. Dio 43.42.2.

⁷ II.13 (III.2).88.

⁸ Drumann-Groebe (*Geschichte Roms*), III.552 reads: "Die Tragen, auf welchen Beute, Statuen und die Gemälde der eroberten Städte zur Schau gestellt wurden, und die übrigen Gerätschaften bestanden bei den einzelnen Triumphen aus verschiedenen Stoffen," but in III.591 *apparatus* is said to mean "die Bilder und Gerätschaften."

⁹ Olck, *Citrus* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* III.2621; H. L. Gerth Van Wijk, *Dictionary of Plantnames*, p. 218 (1911); George Gordon, *The Pinetum* (1880), p. 58. The latter says it is "a large tree, diminishing into a small bush, according to elevation and soil; found on the mountains of Barbary in rocky situations, and on Mount Atlas, in Northern Africa. Its Barbary name is 'Alerce.'"

¹⁰ Cicero, *In Verrem* II.IV.17. § 37; Pliny, *N. H.* XIII.161.102.

ployed for *lecti*,¹¹ as well as *lacunaria*,¹² and is even said to have been used in constructing the roofs of some ancient temples.¹³

It was clearly the most costly and the most prized of all woods; of this there can be no doubt. Seneca (*De Beneficiis* VII.9) discusses materials which are most costly. Among these "*luxuriae spolia*" he names the shell of the tortoise and pearls, and declares: "*Video istic mensas et aestimatum lignum senatorio censu,*" and immediately thereafter he cries out:¹⁴ "*Quid agis, avaritia? quot rerum caritate aurum tuum victum est! omnia ista, quae rettuli, in maiore honore pretioque sunt.*" So too does Martial (XIV.89) in his couplet on a table of this wood place its cost above that of gold:

Accipe felices, Atlantica munera, silvas;
aurea qui dederit dona, minora dabit.

Petronius¹⁵ too speaks of the table of citrus wood, which "*maculis imitatur vilius aurum.*"

Pliny¹⁶ in enumerating the most valuable or costly objects of various kinds places citrus first among woods. The same author¹⁷ gives the cost of some of these tables: Cicero paid 500,000 sesterces for one; Asinius Pollio, 1,000,000 for another. A table of King Juba was worth 1,200,000 sesterces, and one of the Cethegi 1,300,000.

It became the symbol of luxury, as Milton¹⁸ indicates when he speaks of "*Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts on citron tables.*" And for it men had the same passionate desire as women had for pearls.¹⁹

Why did Caesar use this wood as the material for the *apparatus* of his Gallic triumph? Blümner²⁰ and Olck²¹ both declare that there must have been *citrarii*, or workers in citrus, in Gaul. Says Olck: "*Auch in Gallien scheint es solche gegeben zu haben, da Caesar bei seinem gallischen Triumphe apparatus ex citro auf-führte.*" The basis for this surmise, and the only basis, is the fact that for the Gallic triumph Caesar used *citrus*. Doubtless these

¹¹ Pers. I.52-3: "*non quidquid denique lectis / scribitur in citreis*"

¹² Hor., *Carm.* IV.1.20: "*sub trabe citrea.*"

¹³ Pliny, *N. H.* XIII.16 (101).

¹⁴ *De Beneficiis* VII.10.

¹⁵ 119.28.

¹⁶ *N. H.* XXXVII, 13.(78).204.

¹⁷ XIII.15(29).92.

¹⁸ *Paradise Regained* IV.114-115.

¹⁹ Pliny, *N. H.* XIII.15(29).91.

²⁰ P. 276, note 5.

²¹ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, III.2624 s. v. *Citrus*.

scholars would have claimed that the tree itself grew in Gaul, had this been possible. There is, however, not a shred of evidence connecting it or workers in it with Gaul.

On the contrary, it is exceedingly interesting to note that Lucan in describing the citrus tables in Cleopatra's palace when Caesar was entertained at a banquet there, expressly declares that these were finer than those that came before Caesar's eyes when he vanquished Juba, the African king. Of course there may be nothing to be gleaned from this statement of the poet; yet one is tempted to believe that he is alluding to the fact that on Juba's defeat Caesar secured splendid citrus wood in Africa. The passage (X.144-145) reads:

Dentibus hic niveis sectos Atlantide silva
Inposuere orbes, quales ad Caesaris ora
Nec capto venere Iuba.

Caesar, it seems clear, chose citrus wood for the Gallic triumph because he desired to render it the most magnificent, and so he employed the wood which men regarded as more precious than all other wood, more costly than gold, in fact the very symbol of magnificence.

Tortoise-shell (*testudo*) was employed for the *apparatus* of the Alexandrine triumph. Caesar's primary purpose was, of course, to make use of something that was extremely costly and was so regarded by all Romans. Pliny²² classes tortoise-shell in value along with pearls and citrus-wood, saying: "Rerum autem ipsarum maximum est pretium in mari nascentium margaritis; . . . in arbore citro, . . . ex iis, quae spirare convenit, animalibus . . . in mari testudinum cortici." The same author²³ speaks of "luxuriae . . . testudines." The shell was used among the Romans, as is well known, to veneer couches and *triclinia* and even to cover doors;²⁴ in fact walls were sometimes faced with ivory and tortoise-shell.²⁵

These questions at once arise: Why did Caesar use tortoise-shell in the Alexandrine triumph rather than in any of the others? What connection, if any, was there between the tortoise-shell and Alexandria?

²² N. H. XXXVII.13(78).204.

²³ XXXII.11(53).144.

²⁴ Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* II.463: "nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis."

²⁵ Blümner, II.375 foll.

In reply we find that Pliny ²⁶ describes a very excellent variety as *chelum* (or *celtium*). This he tells us is found among the Troglodytes of Aethiopia; in VI.173, he speaks of *chelum* (or *celtium*) *testudinum* as an export of the Troglodytes or the Aethiopians.

How would this important article of luxury reach the civilized world? Strabo ²⁷ tells us of Alexandria's unique advantages as a commercial center and terms it μέγιστον ἐμπόριον τῆς οἰκουμένης; he very definitely informs us of Alexandria's important commerce with India, Troglodytica, and Aethiopia. Accordingly the *chelum* of the Troglodytes as well as the *Chelonia imbricata* of the Indian archipelago from which "the tortoise-shell now used in the industrial arts is obtained," ²⁸ must alike have passed through the busy port of Alexandria. Friedländer ²⁹ thus describes the commerce of Alexandria:

Karawanen und Handelsflotten brachten Jahr aus Jahr ein die Schätze des Südens und Ostens, selbst der fernsten Fabel- und Wunderländer hierher. Das Köstlichste und Seltenste, was die Welt kannte lagerte hier in Massen. Goldstaub, Elfenbein, und Schildkrötenschalen aus den Troglodytenlande . . . all diese und unzählige andre Waren meist von der höchsten Kostbarkeit, wurden hier aufs neue verladen, um in Rom und anderwärts zum Teil zum Hundertfachen des Einkaufspreises abgesetzt zu werden.

There seems then to be no doubt of the fact that tortoise-shell was "brought (from the Far East) to ancient Rome by way of Egypt," ³⁰ i.e., of course via Alexandria. It was therefore most natural to associate tortoise-shell with this city.

In a precisely similar manner Propertius ³¹ associates myrrh with Antioch on the Orontes, because it "was the emporium from which the produce of Arabia was shipped for Rome." ³² Indeed, the palace of the Ptolemies in Alexandria to which Caesar had gone, and over the masters of which he was now triumphing, is described by Lucan ³³ as having doors covered with Indian tortoise-shell.

But this could hardly have suggested the use of tortoise-shell in the triumph. On the other hand, the association with Alexandria as the port from which both Indian and Aethiopian tortoise-shell

²⁶ N. H. IX.10.(12).38.

²⁷ XVII.1.13(798).

²⁸ Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, p. 59.

²⁹ *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, II.⁸ 155.

³⁰ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition), 27.71, under *tortoise-shell*.

³¹ I.2.3.

³² Postgate on Propertius I.2.3.

³³ X.120.

came to Rome, was a most natural one, and, in addition to that, its costliness made the choice of tortoise-shell appear appropriate to one who was seeking to dazzle the throng with the splendor of his triumph.

In the triumph over Pontus the *apparatus* (so Velleius tells us) was *ex acantho*.

In the article on *acanthus* in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*³⁴ this passage is placed most curiously under the following caption: "folia et flores festo die in terra sparsa." The passage from Velleius is coupled with one from Calpurnius Siculus (*Eclogue* 4.68): "cantantem rutilo spargebat acantho." The latter may belong under the caption quoted, but when we take the passage in Velleius as a whole, the interpretation in the *Thesaurus* seems entirely incomprehensible. For these words are used along with *Gallici (triumphi) apparatus ex citro, . . . Alexandrini testudine, Africi ebore, Hispaniensis argento rasili constitit. Consistere ex* surely means "to be composed of," and when we see that in the case of each of the other things named (citrus wood, tortoise-shell, ivory, silver) it is impossible to think of it as being scattered before the *triumphator*, but indubitably that these are the materials employed for the *apparatus* of the particular triumph, we realize that this must also be true in reference to the *acanthus*.

The author of the brief article in the *Thesaurus* thought only of the plant, the leaf of which furnished the model for the conventional adornment of the Corinthian column. Pliny the Younger³⁵ calls it *lubricus et flexuosus* and also *mollis et paene dixerim liquidus*. The passage in Propertius³⁶ wherein its employment in the artistic adornment of cups is mentioned, is well known:

at Myos exiguum flectit acanthus iter.

This plant, known as *Brankursine*, is manifestly not one from which the *apparatus* of the Pontic triumph could be made. And undoubtedly it was this that caused the author of the article in the *Thesaurus* to declare that its flowers and leaves were scattered on the ground on that occasion.

However, there is another *acanthus* mentioned by classical authors, though not so frequently; it is (says Weyman³⁷) "nomen

³⁴ I.247.

³⁵ *Epist.* V.6, 16 and 36.

³⁶ III.9.14.

³⁷ C. Weyman, *Abyssus* — *Accedo* in *Archiv für lat. Lexikographie und*

arboris Aegyptiae, quae alias acacia appellatur (Mimosa nilotica Linn.)." This, it is believed, is the *ἄκαθα* of Herodotus (II.96), the tree which produced gum, and furnished the timber used by the Egyptians in making planks and masts.

Theophrastus³⁸ describes the Egyptian acanthus, saying among other things:

that the whole tree is prickly, except the trunk; that it does not grow very straight, but is so large as to yield planks twelve cubits long; that there are two kinds, one white, the other black; that the white is weaker and more liable to decay than the black, on which account the black was used in ship-building for the ribs or knees.

The latter is, it would appear, the *Acacia Arabica* (Willdenow); of it Sprengel is quoted as saying that "the wood, which is extremely durable, is, when old, nearly as black as ebony." Yates in his article on the acanthus³⁹ discusses this acanthus, saying:

We have seen, that Dioscorides (I. 133) denominates the tree of which we have been speaking, *acacia*. He also asserts that "another acacia, resembling the Egyptian, but inferior to it in size, height, and strength, and very thorny, grew in Cappadocia and Pontus." It is possible, therefore, that the wood of a species of *Acacia* or *Mimosa*, close-grained like ebony, and adapted for ornamental purposes, may have been used on the occasion referred to by the historian (i.e. Velleius).

This statement by Yates is, I believe, correct.⁴⁰ We have then a Pontic tree furnishing the wood for the *apparatus* of the Pontic triumph. If this wood could be used for masts, planks, and ribs of ships, it would seem that we have a material appropriate to and available for this triumph, and moreover, a material brought from the land over which the triumph was being celebrated.

For the African triumph ivory was naturally chosen. In the first place, it was valuable and costly; Pliny⁴¹ declares that its value is the greatest of all things which come "ex iis, quae spirare convenit, animalibus in terra." That it was a symbol of luxury, is evidenced by many a passage in classical authors.

Grammatik VII (1892).533 (*s. v. acanthus*). Among the references to this acanthus are Virg., *Georg.* II.119, Isidorus, *Orig.* 17.9.20 and Ambros. 17.1171 B (Migne). See also the note in Alfred Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch* (1890), 384-5.

³⁸ *Hist. Plant.* IV.2.8.

³⁹ James Yates, "On the Use of the Terms Acanthus, Acanthion, etc., in the Ancient Classics," in *Classical Museum*. III.1-21, particularly 19-21.

⁴⁰ See also Wagner in Pauly-Wissowa I.1149-50 *s. v. Akanthos* and I.1161 *s. v. Akazie*, who accepts Yates' view; Blümner (II.249) also seems to think it probable.

⁴¹ *N. H.* XXXVII.13(78).204.

In the second place, Africa was the original source of ivory and continued to be the source of especially large tusks.⁴² Thus does Ovid⁴³ refer to "totum Numidae sculptile dentis opus."

Ivory was used among the Romans for a large number of ornamental purposes, such as the adornment of doors,⁴⁴ *lacunaria*, and furniture of various kinds, particularly *lecti* and tables.⁴⁵ We find too that ivory representations of conquered cities were carried in triumphal processions.⁴⁶

Not only had Caesar fought in the land of elephants, but elephants had been used in the forces of his adversaries. Juba had sixty⁴⁷ and Scipio, thirty; the inhabitants of Sicily even went so far as to declare that the Pompeian forces in Africa had one hundred and twenty;⁴⁸ Labienus too stated⁴⁹ that the royal forces contained that number. At Thapsus Caesar actually captured sixty-four elephants.⁵⁰ This battle was, moreover, the last great battle in which elephants were employed.⁵¹ Says the author of the *Bellum Africum*:⁵² "Elephantorum magnitudo multitudoque animos militum detinebat in terrore;" to meet it, Caesar had elephants brought from Italy and so accustomed both the soldiers and the beasts of burden to them.

Moreover, the elephant was the symbol of Africa and as such it was used on coins of Jugurtha and Juba;⁵³ it has been suggested by some that its employment on certain coins struck by Caesar may have been due to this fact, and even intended to recall the part that the elephants had played in the enemy's forces.⁵⁴

⁴² Pliny, *N. H.* VIII.10(10).31.

⁴³ *ex Ponto* IV.9.28.

⁴⁴ Virg., *Georg.* III.26 and Propertius II.31 (III.29).12: "valvae, Libyci nobile dentis opus."

⁴⁵ Blümner II.364 foll.

⁴⁶ Quintilian VI.3.61 (referring to Caesar's triumphs) and Ovid, *ex Ponto* III.4.105.

⁴⁷ Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* II.40.1; Appian, *B.C.* II.96.

⁴⁸ *Bell. Afr.* 1.4.

⁴⁹ *Bell. Afr.* 19.3.

⁵⁰ *Bell. Afr.* 86.1.

⁵¹ Pauly-Wissowa, V.2255, *s. v. Elefant*.

⁵² *Bell. Afr.* 72.3; cf. also Appian, *B.C.* II.96.

⁵³ I. Müller, *Numism. de l'anc. Afrique*, III.43 and 103; Barclay V. Head, *British Museum; Department of Coins and Medals — A Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients* (1909) refers (p. 120.41) to a Mauretanian coin, on the reverse of which the elephant appears.

⁵⁴ Pauly-Wissowa, V.2255, *s. v. Elefant*; see Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, VI.5. Daremberg-Saglio (2:1.539, fig. 2622) declares that the elephant refers without doubt to the victory at Thapsus, though perhaps too to the supposed derivation of the name *Caesar* from the Punic word for ele-

The appropriateness of the use of ivory for the *apparatus* of this triumph is evident. It stood for magnificence and luxury; it recalled the elephants in the army of the enemy, so many of which he had captured; it was particularly appropriate, since the elephant symbolized Africa.⁵⁵

Last of all came the Spanish triumph; for it silver was employed.

Silver is certainly associated with magnificence. Why was the Spanish triumph chosen as the one in which it should be used?

Spain is and was rich in metals, and its greatest mineral wealth lay in silver. Pliny⁵⁶ said of silver: "reperitur in omnibus paene provinciis, sed in Hispania pulcherrimum." He continues: "mirum, adhuc per Hispanias ab Hannibale inchoatos durare puteos. . . . ex quis Baebelo appellatur hodie, qui CCC pondo Hannibali subministravit in dies." In the time of Polybius⁵⁷ forty thousand men worked in the silver mines of New Carthage; the Roman Republic derived from them a daily income of 25,000 drachmas.⁵⁸ Many were the tales of Spain's wealth in silver, and doubtless there is much exaggeration in them. Yet with all necessary discounting of the stories, there seems to be no doubt that the mines were numerous and exceedingly productive.⁵⁹ And this productivity seems to have been undiminished until the Christian era. Cato declares:⁶⁰ "in his regionibus ferrariae, argentifodinae pulcherrimae." So too does Diodorus Siculus⁶¹ maintain that the best silver came from Spain: αὕτη γὰρ ἡ χώρα σχεδὸν τι πλείστον καὶ κάλλιστον ἔχει μεταλλεόμενον ἄργυρον καὶ πολλὰς τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις παρέχεται προσόδους. We have a long list of names of places and districts in this land from which we know silver was obtained.⁶² In 178 B.C. two triumphs over Spain were celebrated; Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus

phant. Eckhel (VI.5) believes that the latter is the reason for its use. And Cohen (*Description Historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain* 1.17) places the coins bearing the elephant in the year 50 B.C.; this would, of course, make an allusion to Africa improbable. See also Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des Monnaies de la République Romaine*, II.10.

⁵⁵ Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, I.382. G. F. Hill (*Coins of Ancient Sicily*, pp. 155-6) describes a gold stater having "a youthful head wearing an elephant's skin, probably the personification of Africa." Again in his *Historical Roman Coins* (p. 94) a coin is described with the "head of Africa in elephant-skin headdress."

⁵⁶ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIII.6(31).96 and 97.

⁵⁷ Strabo III.2.10.

⁵⁸ See Schulten in Pauly-Wissowa, VIII:2, s. v. *Hispania* (2006-7).

⁵⁹ Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie*, IV.35.

⁶⁰ Gellius II.22.29.

⁶¹ V.35.

⁶² Blümner IV.37.

triumphed over the Celtiberians and their allies, Lucius Postumius Albinus over the Lusitanians and other Spaniards of that region. In the triumphal procession of the former 40,000 pounds of silver were carried; in that of the latter, 20,000.⁶³

Turning to our own times, we find that in 1915 Spain produced 4,565,396 oz. fine silver,⁶⁴ valued at \$3,134,007, while in 1918 Spain and Portugal produced 3,100,000 ounces.⁶⁵ It is interesting to note that the only countries exceeding this amount were the United States, Canada, Mexico, Bolivia and Chile, Peru, Australia, and Japan, all, of course, unknown to the Romans. It is said that "from 1844 to 1870, 9,649,800 oz. of silver were extracted from the Rico lode alone."⁶⁶

The choice of silver for the Spanish triumph is easily understood; it stood for magnificence, and typified Spain beyond all other lands, for Spain was the Romans' land of silver.

It is evident therefore that the choice of the materials employed in Caesar's triumphs was due primarily to a desire to enhance the magnificence of the triumphs, and that in each instance, save that of the Gallic triumph, there was a very direct relation between the material used and the land over which the triumph was being celebrated.

⁶³ Livy XLI.7.1-2.

⁶⁴ *Encyclopaedia Britannica, The New Volumes*, XXXII.497 (Twelfth Edition); Benjamin White, *Silver: its Intimate Association with the Daily Life of Man*, p. 11 (London), 1919.

⁶⁵ H. B. Cronshaw, *Silver Ores* (Imperial Institute), p. 4, London, 1921.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

CLASSICAL TRADITIONS IN MEDIEVAL IRISH LITERATURE

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"More Irish than the Irish themselves" has become an historical truism finely descriptive of the assimilative power inherent in the old Irish way of life. No less happily does it epitomize the fortunes of the "Matter of Greece and of Rome" when brought into contact with the vigorous literary traditions and the unique influences flourishing upon Irish soil. Here a mass of material, hallowed with the sanctification of the ages and weighty with the authority of grammarians, philosophers, and church fathers, was in large part made to yield up its integrity and, while never really moulded into the body of Irish literary and cultural habits to the extent of modifying native methods, became sufficiently domiciled to serve as a storehouse of stock-in-trade reference.

Aside from the practice of borrowing, common to the appropriating habits of all medieval writers, there were certain factors controlling the reception and use of classical traditions in old and medieval Irish times that both for themselves and for the impress they stamped on what was taken over give unusual interest to this phase of Irish literary history.

These factors, which neither in combination nor in totality find a parallel in contemporary literatures, readily fall into the following broad generalizations: the complete freedom of Ireland from the political domination of imperial Rome; the wide acquaintance with Latin and Greek languages and literatures; the existence of an extraordinarily copious body of native literature; the remarkable organization of a bardic profession so stable as to be recognized as an integral part of the state economy; and finally the lenient, kindly attitude of the clerics toward the myths and beliefs of their countrymen.

The two forces most potent in stiffening the resistance of the native culture to submitting to foreign imports were the mass of

indigenous literature and the hierarchy of bards. Stories and their manner of telling were in ancient Ireland an indivisible part of the national life. In fact, the literary profession was publicly endowed. And it was the monopoly of a special caste. Of the poets there were seven grades, whose function it was to write the annals, to preserve the juristic traditions, to instruct in the supernatural, and to recite for kings and the people at fairs, feasts, and other public entertainments seven times fifty stories (though not at one sitting), *i.e.*, five times fifty prime stories and two times fifty secondary stories. The manner of instruction in poetry was also seemingly fixed. The first year the students had to learn by heart twenty stories, thirty the second, forty the third, fifty the fourth, and so on up through the sixth. And a year or two was given over for review. The division of the poets into classes was according to the number of these stories they knew. In order to assist the pupil in memorizing so large a number of tales the ollave or professor divided them into certain subdivisions, such as Destructions, Cattle Raids, Courtships, Battles, Voyages, Tragic Deaths, Feasts, Sieges, Adventures, Elopements, Plunders, and Caves. The number of poets, even when one allows for Hibernic hyperbole, must have been enormous. In time they proved to be so intolerable in their exactions that they narrowly escaped becoming the victims of a pogrom, being saved by the intervention of Columbeille. Their influence upon narrative methods did not cease, however, with their decrease in numbers. It is conceivable, therefore, that the pressure exerted upon an Irish redactor of foreign stuff by long crystallized traditions would allow him as little freedom of invention as was allowed by the angel to Balaam.

How early the Irish shanachies were feeling the effects of the diffusion of classical lore cannot be certified, for we have few texts that can claim undisputed existence prior to the eleventh century. Some slight evidence in the way of striking parallelisms, which may turn out to be adopted motifs, suggests that by the ninth century the learned folk were becoming conscious of a literary world outside of their own. And what influence did the storied past of Greece and Rome, the moving tales of Achilles and Eneas, the romantic narratives of Ovid, exert upon the manner and matter of Irish story telling? They did not modify the form; rather the Irish promptly turned all that they translated into prose in keep-

ing with the mould into which their own epic material was run. They did not lead to a sustained refinement of spirit or to a tempering of method. The extravagances and exaggerations of early modern Irish romances were present in germ in the older tales. Whether the gradual shaping of the episodic compositions making up their greatest saga, *The Cattle Raid of Cualny*,¹ toward an epic, continuous and sustained — unfortunately arrested, however — was affected by classical models is hardly to be considered. Rather the more immediate cause is to be looked for in the inherent tendency exemplified everywhere to accretion and from accretion to organization. It may well be questioned whether Grecian and Roman culture contributed much more than motifs for decorations to native Irish inventions. No doubt Irish poets welcomed new material, for the Irish as a race are happily acquisitive; but what they seized upon they transmuted into something distinctly Irish. The translations and especially the borrowings went through a process of assimilation that left very little of the original substance and spirit intact.

For ease of handling, the uses of classical material may be divided into three main phases: the conceptions held of Greece and of Rome as countries; the translations and adaptations; and the correspondences and reflexes.

Inasmuch as Ireland never felt the political overrule of Rome and consequently escaped the domination of Roman institutions and ways of life, it is conceivable that her conception of the mistress of the world and of the land of Greece would prove to be somewhat naïve and original. Greece — “that ideal land where all archetypes of the great and fair were found in substantial being and all diversities of the intellectual power exhibited, whose greatest jewel was Athens, the city of the mind, splendid and radiant” — what audacity of the spirit of irony led the medieval Irish to turn the tables and conceive of this land, the cradle of our civilization, as the Ultima Thule of remoteness and to associate it with sorcery and magic? Such an attitude could arise only in a people that were intensely aware of themselves and keenly mindful of the pleasures of life offered by residence in Ireland. So Greece turns out to be a remote realm, a vague, shadowy land, never sharply

¹ Now completely accessible to English readers in *The Ancient Irish Epic Tale Táin Bó Cúalnge* by Professor Joseph Dunn, 1914.

limned, and never associated with the glories of her art and intellect. From this eastern world came heroes intent on quests, sometimes in search of fame and sometimes in fulfillment of taboos laid on them to break the pride of Irish heroes (especially of Ossianic warriors) as if impelled by the fact that here in Ireland they were to be put to the final proof. And thither went Irish heroes bent upon displaying their prowess. When Labraid Loingsech, for instance, was banished from Ireland, he went east until he "reached the island of the Britains and the speckled youths of the land of Armenia." At a feast given by Finn² there were present as guests the king of Alba and the king of Greece, Iollan by name. The story ends in a glorious brawl in which Oscar, the son of Oisín, becomes so intoxicated with fighting that he invades and conquers all lands, finally reaching Greece, "a land whose tribute and wealth and booty they did not capture." Again, "they came to Greece though far away." After more incredible exploits there and in India, they reach Hesperia, subdue its king and likewise the king of "deep-blue Italy." "That is Oscar's voyage to the east and somewhat of his prowess of his sword," runs the lay. One is inclined to add *sic*! At other times Greece and Rome are merely boundary posts for marking distance. "From Greece and Scythia west to the Orkneys and to the Pillars of Hercules . . . and to the Gates of Gades," says Fergus,³ there will not be found "any man who shall endure the Ulster-men in their fury and in their rage." The poem, *Fair of Carmen*, in explaining the origin of Carmen and her three evil sons, who bring ill upon the Tuatha de Danann by blighting the fertility of the soil, adds that they "came from remote Athens westward to Erin." In one instance Rome serves as the vanishing post of the world's boundaries. After Cuchullin had wounded his son to death, the youth asserted that had he lived he would have vanquished the men of the world and Cuchullin would have held the kingship as far as Rome.⁴

Like the mysterious region of the South Seas a hundred years or so ago, which the imaginations of the day peopled with creatures unfamiliar to the ken of man and outside of the ordinary operations of nature, so was Greece and the Eastern world to the med-

² *Duanaire Finn*, XXIII, edit. and trans. by Eoin MacNeill, Irish Text Society, Vol. VII, 1908.

³ *The Cattle Raid of Cualgny*, trans. by Winifred Faraday, Grimm Library, Vol. XVI.

⁴ *Death of Connla*, edit. and trans. by Kuno Meyer, *Eriu*, Vol. I, p. 113.

ieval Irish. What existed there and what might come out of there might be a matter for wonder, but it was never a tax on the credulity. For anything magical or marvellous there was the ready explanation that it came from Greece. In the rather late collection of Ossianic tales making up the *Duanaire Finn* cited above, which is full of references to this magic-breeding land of Greece, there occurs the incident of a meeting between Finn and his troop and a horrid monster, which he recognizes to be of foreign breed. "I have come from Greece on my course until I reach Loch Cuan to seek combat of the Fian." His father, it seems was also a certain monster in Greece and a reptile of evil countenance his mother. Finn accommodated him with a combat, but to his grief he was swallowed by the monster. After he had succeeded in cutting himself out he very properly went on a reptile-slaying expedition. From Athens came, it will be remembered, the evilly disposed Carmen and her brood, who by "spells and incantations and charms" ruined every place and by "plundering and dishonesty" destroyed the works of men. The Fir Bolg, a group of mythical early invaders of Ireland, of whom no chronicler has anything good to say, likewise had their origin in Greece. According to the seventeenth century historian, Keating, they got their names from the bags of leather they used to carry for the purpose of transporting earth which they put on bare flagstones to make of them flowery plains in bloom. Elsewhere in the *Rennes Dinnsheanas*,⁵ we have another explanation of the origin of the Fir Bolg. Accounting for the names of Loch Andid and Loch n-Uair, the scribe goes on to say: "Aindim Cach, the eared, and Uar Etharchar were two sons of Gumer of the kings of the Fir Bolg. And as regards their pedigree, they were of the men of the Greeks, i.e., Grecus, son of Pont, and Damascus, son of Pont. The latter is the ancestor of the Fir Bolg. And one of the two families prevailed over the other and deprived him of their sweet-tasted water, for in the land of the Greeks a power of impounding is given over water." Like other western peoples, the medieval Irish were desirous of enhancing their pedigree by connecting their origin with classical progenitors, and in this respect they exercised no greater moderation than did the ambitious scribes of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, who traced their ancestry back through the Germanic deities to Adam. The

⁵ *Revue Celtique*, XVI, edit. and trans. by Whitley Stokes.

Gaels ran their origin back to Gaedhal Glas or Goidel Glas. According to some accounts, he was the son of Argus or of Cecrops, who obtained the sovereignty over the Argives. Against this theory Keating, who cites as his authorities many ancient books now lost, argues that Gaedhal Glas was born in Egypt of Scota. His epithet "Glas," gray-blue, came from the mark left on his arm by the serpent's bite, of which he was healed by Moses. From him all the Gaels are named.

The same desire for glorifying the origin of St. Patrick by numbering Odysseus among his ancestors⁶ operated to lend to famous weapons glory of a superlative character by giving them an originative connection with Greece. Of magical weapons the Irish possessed a score or more, the potency of some of which surpassed that of the far-famed Tyrning of the Norse, which was cursed with the hate of the dwarves that forged it. Very few of these, if any, depend for their virtues upon graftings from foreign elements. They are quite sufficient in their own might. It is rather in the later tales that we encounter the tendency to endue objects with qualities of an adventitious character. The sword of Oscar,⁷ for example, in its historical continuity is traced back through Julius Caesar up the whole Trojan line to the progenitors of the gods. Sometimes the association carries with it nothing more than an indefinite suggestion of magical properties. Particularly is this true of the late Ossianic tales, where in general the use of Greece becomes conventionalized and quite lacking in point. Fiachra gives to Finn, for example, among other things, "my shield from the land of the Greeks."⁸ And again, "The third best thing of price that Finn ever acquired" was a drinking horn which Moriath, daughter of the king of the Greeks, gave to him.⁹

Indicative of invention of a higher character than that shown in fabling weapons to be of classical origin is the Irish fondness for synchronizing events in Greek and Roman tradition either with each other, or with events in Jewish history or with incidents in their own past. In the account of the second battle of Moytura, Lugh in seeking admission to Tara is compelled to play at chess to show his skill. Then follows what is obviously a scribal insertion,

⁶ *Lives of the Saints*, W. Stokes, Notes, p. 293.

⁷ *Duanaire Finn*, XX.

⁸ *Duanaire Finn*, XIII.

⁹ *Colloquy of the Ancients*, *Silva Gadelica*, S. H. O'Grady, 1892.

but nevertheless an observation possessing significance: "But if chess was invented at this epoch of the Trojan War, it had not reached Ireland, for the battle of Moytura, and the destruction of Troy occurred at the same time."¹⁰ The oddest instance of synchronism, however, is that which associates the Fall of Troy with the story of Samson.¹¹ Several of the Trojan heroes had been with Samson for a year entreating him to come to their aid. Before he could take up their cause, however, he had to assure himself that the Trojans believed in God, and at the request of Priam's son, Helenus, he sent messengers to Troy. A storm drove them upon the shore of the Gestida where they were seized by the king and destined to be slaughtered. One escaped, however, and told Samson, who set out raging with anger to avenge their deaths. Eventually he slew all of the Gestida with the jawbone of a camel. Seemingly the Trojans were not fated to secure the aid of so doughty a champion. One cannot help wondering how Achilles would have prevailed against so mighty and so unconventional a warrior.

It is in the phase of translations, however, that the peculiar Irish genius best illustrates how it mastered foreign material, and after a process of assimilation turned out a product that was essentially Irish in content and in spirit. Not only were the changes, the omissions, and interpolations indicative of the shaping hand that lay in the permanence of their own literary traditions, but the choice of subjects likewise point to a control by long habituated tastes. The translations and adaptations that have been preserved to us are Vergil's *Aeneid*, *The Wanderings of Ulysses*, *The Destruction of Troy*, *The Civil Wars of the Romans*, *The Story of Alexander*, Statius' *Thebaid*, *The Adventures of Hercules*, *The Story of the Minotaur and of Daedulus and Icarus*, *The Vengeance of the Children of Tantalus*, *The Story of the Famous Necklace Wrought by Vulcan and Presented by Cadmus to his Bride*, *Harmonia*, *The Correspondence between Alexander and Dindimus*, and so on. It is very possible that there are many more yet lurking in the obscurity of inedited manuscripts. From this list of tales, it is apparent that the prevailing taste inclined toward the heroic and the romantic as being in accord with the general run of their own tales. In this connection the omission of Ovid is puzzling, inas-

¹⁰ *Second Battle of Moytura*, W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XII.

¹¹ *How Samson Slew the Gestida*, Marstrander, *Eriu*, V.

much as he was immensely popular in the Middle Ages and furthermore should have appealed strongly to the Irish love of the marvelous and the grotesque. Neither the *Georgics* of Vergil nor the *Odes* of Horace, both of which were read and glossed, seems to have been translated. Doubtless their subject matter and treatment were too remote from the everyday run of Irish interests.

How little the scribe felt himself shackled by the letter and spirit of his original can best be gathered from the Irish Aeneid¹² where it is evident that the translator had his text before him. Here we find him constantly breaking away from his model in the matter of interpolations, omissions, and infusion of local color. The first are sometimes reminiscent of his own literature, and sometimes of the group of stories collected around the destruction of Troy. The second have to do with dialogues and the assemblies of the gods and with purely Roman customs. The third concerns chiefly personal descriptions, narratives of battles, in which the manner peculiar to the native epic style predominates. Apparently the scribe realized that his readers, being accustomed to a certain well-known run of tales, would applaud what most nearly approached the norm, and accordingly divested the Roman epic of too foreign an appearance.

At the very outset the Muse has been dethroned and her altar overturned. She was a strange divinity whom the Irish knew not. Instead of the usual invocation we meet with a consultation of the Greeks over the problematic disposition of those Trojans, among them Aeneas and Antenor, who had betrayed the city into their hands — details recollected from the *Destruction of Troy* as known to the Western World through Benoit's redaction. To the same source belongs the short narrative of the destruction that befell Troy during the reign of Laomedon. The tale of Aeneas' wanderings is lifted out of the Third Book and inserted at this point, whereby the story is made to follow the chronological order of events. Throughout, the Christian predilections of the scribe force their way to the front, making it incumbent on him to explain to his readers matters that were a part of the inherited traditions of the classic mythology. Juno, "the wife of Jove, had a grudge against the Trojans on account of the partial judgment Alexander, son of Priam, gave about the golden apple." Neptune's anger

¹² Edit. and trans. by George Calder, Irish Text Society, Vol. VI, 1907.

against the Winds is accounted for by the fact that "the dominion of the sea is his." Similarly there is added to the narrative of Anchises' funeral the statement that "his stone was set up, his name inscribed, and he was called to his tomb, and his funeral games were celebrated, as was the custom with the pagans to celebrate the games of their dead." A reader of Irish stories will here be reminded of the Irish custom of setting up stones to their heroes and inscribing their names in Ogam. In his description of the everlasting fire burning in Mt. Etna, the writer was probably reflecting the general notion of his day when he adds: "God does that to make known to men that the fire of hell is eternal; for this is what some allege, that Mt. Etna is one of the doors of hell."

Significant are the omissions and curtailments relating to the gods and the background of fate and retribution. The Irish of the early historical period at least had lost what awe of their divinities may have at any time been entertained by their ancestors. Further the Celtic theogony had broken down so early, in many cases, traceable through etymology alone, that the conception of gods ruling above and controlling mortal affairs was too distant from common experience. Accordingly the scribe gives but a meagre and colorless rendering of that magnificent passage wherein Vergil depicts Venus reconciling Aeneas to the destruction of his city by revealing to him the gods at work levelling Troy with their own hands. Elsewhere the Christian temper interposes to shear the gods of their power. Juno had no part in the shaping of that fateful day, "the source and spring of many a woe," which brought to the same cave the love-sick Dido and the willing Aeneas. In general, the part played by divinities in aiding and in interfering in the affairs of men is slightly passed over. Mnestheus, for example, would have come out victor in the ship race had not Cloanthus "put his trust in the gods of the sea and invoked the gods." And Misenus, the trumpeter of Aeneas, was found dead on the shore, "drowned by the gods of the sea for his rivalry with Triton." Such practices as cutting off the lock of hair whereby Iris bestows "the gift of death" on the imprisoned soul of Dido — practices that are as marrow to Roman beliefs — are passed by in silence. Nor was it felt that the readers would be any more interested in the legendary origin and growth of Rome, for the translator reduced the description of Aeneas' shield, in which Vergil sums up the glory and pride of the Roman

race, to the mere statement of its being "a bossy shield of white bronze," adding with reference to the representation of the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus and to the figures of gods and giants in combat, the naïve observation of "its amusing emblematic figures of beasts," at the same time remaining sublimely unconscious of the astonishment his own distorted zoomorphic designs would have created in the minds of Vergil's contemporaries.

The supernatural beings that appealed with any force to the Irish mind were those that partook of the nature of spectres, such as Rumor, the tale-babbling goddess, with an eye under every plume; and those "gods of sorrow, gloom, vengeance, disease and pestilence, old age, fear and hunger, and poverty," that sit by the gates to Avernus. Similarly the Cyclops was sure to awaken a response, for his appearance gave free play to the Irish fancy for distortion and superlativeness, such as found expression in the phrases, "The Ionian sea did not reach to his shoulders," "His martial caused a wave roar," that is, the waves gave back an answering roar like to the three waves on the Irish coast, the waves of Clidna, Rudhraidhe, and Toraigh, which roared in response to blows struck on the shield of Conchubair, the king of Ulster. And the serpents which brought undying fame to Laokoon may well have been *piasts* out of their own lochs and bogs whose extinction at the hands of Finn MacCumhail is the theme of many an Ossianic tale. When we read in the description of the storm raised by Juno of how "the sludge was visible below the sea and through the brine between the waves, and the foam and roar of them were heard throughout the nations and throughout the far-distant territories," we meet with one of the most familiar stock-in-trade descriptive mannerisms found in Irish literature.

But it is especially in personal descriptions and narratives of battle that the Irish style of epic narration comes into its own. To Iarbas Aeneas appears as "the hand in the nest of serpents, a kick against goads, a dash of head against a rock; 'tis the lust of battle and derring-do upon him; and 'tis the wrath of a serpent about his nest with him; and 'tis a lion's strength, a soldier's mettle, a hero's prowess, a champion's hurling his." Later Aeneas is portrayed as "a pillar of battle, a hammer for smiting and bruising foes, a shield for guarding and protecting territory and land, a brave, triumphant, battle-victorious hero, of spirit and fierce pride;

of size, honor, and beauty, of gentleness, majesty, and youth," and so on. No less as an Irish hero is Pallas pictured to us: "Comely was the youth that was in their midst. Golden hair upon him, slightly curling; a clear, blue eye in his head; like the prime of the wood in May, or like the purple fox-glove was each of his two cheeks. You would think that it was a shower of pearls that rained into his head. You would think his lips were a loop of coral, as white as the snow of one night were his neck and the rest of his skin." And of his sword it is said: "It would cut a hair on the water; it would make two halves of a man, and he would not hear of it until long afterwards."

Equally transmuted are the battle scenes; in place of the long stately epic simile appear short, incisive metaphors and heaped-up epithets. The individual combats are made to yield in interest to the general conflict related in picturesque terms, expressive of the uproar and confusion. Of such a character is the narrative of the fight between the armies of Aeneas and Turnus in Book V: "There was waged in sooth a conflict cruel, gory, bloody, woundful, invading, deadly, gory between them in that battle. Brittle was the wood in the hands of the full-valorous heroes in the same battle. There were heard the crashing of arms, the swish of the swords, the rush of the arrows. Streams of crimson blood were seen there from spear-points full-gory, and from the points of the dread, frightful, very-sharp, tusk-hilted swords, and from the ends of the pointed, tapering, purple glaives." And Aeneas went through the host; "hacking them, and mangling them, beheading them, and wounding them, so that the sole touched neck wherever he went through the battle."

Two passages should be quoted which reveal the tenderness, gentleness, and haunting quality of "Celtic magic" when its exuberant imagination is tempered by restraint and economy of means. The first concerns Lavinia, of whom it was said, when she realized how she had become the apple of discord, that "beautiful was the blush of countenance that came over her, and it was the blush of noble breeding in her." The other passage observes of Aeneas after he had emerged from the world of shadows, "and of that history which he had seen nothing remained to Eneas but a vision in the mind, like a man who has been dreaming or who is at the point of death."

Like Vergil, Lucan, author of the *Pharsalia*, owed much of his popularity in the Middle Ages to the grammarians, and thus he may have swung into the ken of Irish scholars, who translated him under the title of *The Civil War of the Romans*.¹² Unlike Vergil he did not contribute to medieval romanticism nor the artistic spirit of the Renaissance beyond what he furnished to the grammarians, rhetoricians, and moralists. What endeared him to the scholars of the Middle Ages, and among them the Irish learned folk, was his sententiousness. Other elements of appeal to the Irish bards and their audiences were his battle scenes, his deeds of magic and marvels, and the opportunity he afforded for the display of topographical learning, of which they were so fond. As with the *Aeneid*, *The Destruction of Troy*, and the *Thebaid*, the scribe begins at the beginnings of things, where the antecedent story is related in terms of the world's history. The changes made by the translator reflect, as do those set forth above in the *Aeneid*, the power exerted upon the scribe by institutional ways of telling a story. A good illustration lies at hand in these portions dealing with the adventures of Sextus Pompey, who like Saul sought to discover from a witch or "one that hath a familiar spirit" what was impending in the fateful battle of the coming day. The Hebrew narrator had a fine sense of restraint, but Lucan and his Irish redactor piled horrors upon horrors. Truly in their diabolical accomplishments the Thessalian witches exceeded all their sisters known to man. Any witch who could "stop the firmament in its mundane course" might well lay claim to the high seat. One is not surprised to learn that in this company of superwitches there was one that surpassed them all, namely Erichthe, who went beyond in her ferocity even the Slavic vampyres. The description of her personal appearance is patterned after the similar descriptions of distortions familiar to readers of the Ulster Heroic Cycle. After the revelations had been made by the ghost called up, the evil things of earth very appropriately, for several pages, made a night of it.

It is in the portion dealing with the battle of Pharsalia, however, that the scribe gives freest rein to his national habits. For a while he follows his original fairly closely, and then in a fit of ecstasy, as it were, he leaps into the generalizing method of narrating battle

¹² Edit. and trans. by W. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, 3rd Series, 2nd part, 1909.

sights and sounds practiced among his own people. Likewise in the account of the battle between Curio and Juba, it is the clash and clamor, "the blare of trumpets and din of steeds" that appeal to his sense of narrative methods and allow most readily of augmentation.

Another significant feature indicative of the strength of native traditions is the treatment of the legends told by Lucan of Carthage. These the translator put into the mouth of an African warrior, who was full of the lore of his country and only needed a listener that would not tire to spring them into life, much as Caoilte regaled St. Patrick in the *Colloquy of the Ancients*. How reminiscent of the style of the *Dimmschencus* are such concluding words, "Wherefore thenceforward it was called the Hill of the Struggle!"

Many expressions used by the Roman poet fell in gratefully with the native manner of phrasing, such as the descriptions of the four Roman tribunes who incited Caesar to battle, where Lucan borrows the use of kennings:

Ecce faces belli dubiaeque in proelia menti
urgentis addunt stimulos cunctasque pudoris
rumpunt fata moras, etc. (Book I, l. 262.)

This the Irishman translates as

Torches for kindling anger, and persuaders and enjoiners
of the great battle, then came to Caesar four choice tribunes, etc.

Again, some of the comparisons and similes used in the original are followed word for word. In the majority of cases, however, the scribe falls back upon kennings and long descriptive strings of adjectives. Very noticeable, too, is the national habit of rhetorical exaggeration. The thirst of the Pompeians and their tumultuous quenchings is rendered so: "So great was the rush of the water which they gulped to them that no passage was found for their breath inwards or outwards; so that was a cause of death to them."

Quite frequently the scribe must have approved the philosophic and political viewpoint of Lucan, for whenever we meet with sentiments that gather up the scattered experiences of life into an all-embracing statement, we usually find Lucan behind them, as for instance, in the opinion which the worldly wise Caesar holds concerning what subject peoples think of their rulers: "Moreover it is a common custom throughout the world that the peoples hate the rulers with whom they are acquainted more than the other rulers."

Time has not altered the truth of this observation. Now and then the scribe interpolates comments of his own, none of which is so purely personal as that which comes at the very end, where speaking of the incomplete account of the battle of Pharsalia, he remarks: "So therefore the Roman authors and framers of this story left the combats of the battle without relating and recounting them particularly. Through prudence and design the same authors left the royal persons of the Romans without making known their deed in the battle, lest this story might be a book of rancorous memories to their children after them and cause hatred and ill-will to arise in their hearts among themselves when they should hear that their fathers and their brothers killed one another in the combats of the battle." Apart from this we get no idea what the Irishman thought of the tale he must have labored at for a long time. The fact that he proceeded no farther than the battle of Pharsalia leads one to the opinion that possibly he tired of the work, feeling that there were other things more worth while.

How the Wanderings of Ulysses reached Ireland is at present unknown, for the brief resumé of the *Odyssey*¹⁸ which is found in a 14th century Manuscript (Stowe MS, 1300) can be traced to no medieval original, and has nothing to do with the versions of the Destruction of Troy made familiar matter to western Europe through Benoit de St. More and Guido delle Colonne. It may be that the author possessed only the bare outlines of the Homeric poem, for what he gives us is immeasurably condensed. The incidents of the Cyclops, the well-known cunning of Ulysses, and the stubbornness of his followers have been remembered, but the recognition of the hero brought about by the dog Argos is warped as is also the coyness exhibited by Penelope in holding aloof so long from his embraces. No mention is made of the suitors. As a substitute predicament Ulysses is made to find his wife in bed with his son, whom apparently he does not recognize and is about to slay with his sword, when the queen cried aloud, "Oh, my son," etc. Furthermore, the narrative is shot through with Celtic twists of speech. When Ulysses, who has escaped from the Cyclops, returns to the cave, he remarks to the men still within, "Comrades, great is the danger ye are in," and is met with the reply, "Thou art right and thou thyself wilt be out of it." He advises them when climb-

¹⁸ Edited and translated by K. Meyer, D. Nutt, 1886.

ing out over the Cyclops "to raise your breaths in the top of your breasts to lighten yourselves." When the author makes a loch burst out broad and large from the ruined eye of the monster he but repeats a convention familiar to Irish story tellers. Seemingly a recollection of Vergil looks out of the remark that "It is related that a man of the people of Ulysses went away out of a hardy and idle mood and his was the man who met Aeneas, the son of Anchises, when he was on his voyage of exile," the phrasing and tone of which set off sharply from each other the Grecian and the Celtic worlds.

The honor of being the first to turn into a modern European tongue the *Destruction of Troy*¹⁴ belongs to Ireland, for the Irish version, which is found in the *Book of Leinster*, dates back at least to 1147 and may well have been written much earlier, while the French version of Benoit did not appear until 1181. The Irish form in common with the others made in Western Europe is based not upon Homer but upon Dares Phrygius, and follows the same general scheme of organization of the story. As with the *Aeneid* and the *Pharsalia*, Celtic coloring penetrates deep into the texture of the story resulting in a typical pattern of Irish narrative structure, made up of rhetorical conventions, wistful charm, exaggeration and grotesqueness, and delight in brilliancy of pageantry, movement, and life. Inasmuch as the main characteristics described in the preceding translations but repeat themselves here, it is not necessary to go into detail of this redaction.

Other translations or redactions of well-known classical tales must be passed over in brief. *The Story of Alexander*,¹⁵ according to its editor, Kuno Meyer, differs from all other versions known to Western Europe in not being based on Pseudocallisthenes. The name and fame of this hero tended to become a commonplace in Irish thought, particularly as a synonym for far-flung conquests and as symbol of departed glories and of the vanity of human strivings. In a poem by Gilla Coeman he is called Mac Philib. In the *Wars of the Gael with the Gall*,¹⁶ Brian is named a second Alexander. And in the 15th century Egerton Manuscript is found a poem of six verses beginning:

¹⁴ Edit. and trans. by W. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, 2nd Series, 1st part, 1884.

¹⁵ Edit. and trans. by Kuno Meyer, *Irische Texte*, 2nd Series, 3rd part.

¹⁶ Edit. and trans. by James H. Todd, London, 1867.

Four men stood at the grave of a man,
It was the grave of Alexander, the Proud, etc.

The last notable translation of a recognized Latin classic is a long prose text of the *Thebaid* by Statius.¹⁷ The treatment in this work of the classical deities, the martial episodes and battle exploits, the descriptions of persons, dress, and armor, and the genealogies are likewise largely influenced by the ruling type common to the native literature and consequently may be passed by.

The reflexes, correspondences, and borrowings of classical traditions and motifs that abound in medieval Irish literature would require, if traced to their sources, properly identified and labelled, the support of a considerable amount of detail. Such researches may, therefore, be left with good grace to the student of sources. Likewise the question whether any given incident is a direct borrowing or a reflex, or an independent coincidence is too nice to be pursued here. Our concern is rather with the variety and range of episodes seemingly drawn from the classics and with their fortune when subjected to the forces controlling narrative manner dominating in Ireland.

The correspondence of the voyage motifs present in so many Irish tales to those making up the body of the *Odyssey* has been pointed out many times. Out of the opportunities afforded by the various *Imras* to invent quantities of marvels, it is to be expected that some resemblances and perhaps even recollections of incidents in the Greek story should force their way to the fore. *The Voyage of Maelduin*,¹⁸ for instance, is full of strange adventures among the remote and unmapped islands of fairy land, some of which are parallels of incidents related in the *Seven Sages of Rome*, some uniquely Celtic in their romance and magic, and others more or less faintly reminiscent of the *Odyssey*. The closest parallel is found in the adventures which seem to correspond to Ulysses' sojourn with Calypso. When the Greek wanderer visits the goddesses Circe and Calypso, he is received into their bed without any marriage ceremony. The same kind of hospitality is meted out to Maelduin and his companions when they arrive at the Isle of

¹⁷ Edit. and trans. by Donald McKinnon, *Celtic Review* beginning July, 1904. Published separately and completely by George Calder, Cambridge, 1922.

¹⁸ Edit. and trans. by W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, X, XI.

Women, where they remain for three months before departing for Ireland.

The story of the sirens and their baleful song related in the *Odyssey* repeats itself in Irish literature in a variety of ways. In the story of the marvelous yewtree called Ibar macc n-angeis, it is told that Ailill and Ferches put wax in their ears in order not to hear the song of the *sidhe* that lulled men to sleep. Originating doubtless in classical tradition is a description of the mermaids to be found in the *Dinnsenchus of Port Lairge* (*Book of Leinster*, p. 197a). "It was a word of great bane, the voice of the mermaids of the sea above the wide pure waves. More beautiful are the nymphs than any possession, fairer than any man they were of shape, their bodies above the waves of the flood, with the golden yellow locks. The men of this world used to fall asleep at their voice, at their clear cries." Mac Cithaing, who fell in love with one of them, met with an evil end. "He was choked, he was killed, and his body was bound." The Irish had their own sleep music that was no less potent than the songs of the sirens. When an invading host was attempting to capture the fortress of Dind Rig, they had their musician Craiphtine mount on the rampart of the fort and play his slumber strain to the host within. Those outside put their fingers to their ears and their faces to the ground so as to shut out the sleep compelling music. The end sought for was accomplished. But Moriath, daughter of Scoriath, did not deem it honorable to show such signs of human frailty, with the result that she lay asleep for three days. This magical sleep strain called *suan-traighe* had counterparts in an equally magical weeping strain called *gol-traighe*, which caused men to die with weeping, and in the joy strain, called *gen-traighe*, which caused men to forget their troubles.

Suggestive of Ajax's fury and futile fight with the sheep when out of his head, as related in Sophocles' drama, is the plight of Muirchertach mac Ecca¹⁹ who after having been bewitched by the magical food of a fairy woman rushes out crazed and engages in a furious combat with a host of warriors conjured up by her arts. He is found by a cleric hacking stones and sods and is restored to his senses by having the sign of the cross put upon him. An incident of similar nature is a part of the story of Cuchullin, whom

¹⁹ Edit. and trans. by W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, Vol. XXIII.

the malignant otherworld beings — the daughters of Catlin — entice from his hiding place by metamorphosing puff balls into the likeness of warring hosts, and thus lead him to destruction.

Ovid seemingly was occasionally drawn upon by Irish writers as well as by other medieval romancers. His tale of King Midas of the asses' ears, whose ignominy was whispered forth to the world by the rushes, is closely repeated in the Irish story of Labraid Lore or Loingseach.²⁰ The latter, being more sensitive than his classical prototype, killed every barber that shaved him. The one barber he spared, being unable to hold the secret, like him of old, whispered it to a willow tree. By this catharsis the barber was truly purged. But the willow gave the news out to the world when a harp made of its body sang at a musical concert, "Two horses' ears on Labraid Lore." The similarity in general features is too remarkable to be accounted for otherwise than by direct borrowing.

The greatest of all the Irish epic tales, the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*²¹ (known in English as the *Cattle Raid of Cualny*) offers many points of comparison with the *Iliad*. Those curious to see how far these may be pushed should consult D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de littérature celtique*, tome vi. Restrictions of space permit here no more than a statement that there are many obvious resemblances.

In the sober *Annals of Tigernach* there is an entry on the battle of Moin Mur to this effect: "Until sands of the sea and stars of the heaven are numbered, no one will reckon all the sons of the kings and chiefs and great lords of the men of Munster that were killed there." So with well-nigh equal license might one speak of the references, parallels, and reflexes of classical traditions in medieval Irish literature. Further citations are unnecessary; they would but confirm the deepening impression of copiousness and familiarity that characterize the Irish acquaintance with the lands, heroes, and myths of Greece and Rome, and of the intellectual assertion of the Irish culture when faced with the masterpieces of the ancient world.

²⁰ Related by Keating in his *History of Ireland*, Irish Text Society, Vol. XV. See index in this volume.

²¹ Written in English entire from *Book of Leinster* and allied manuscripts by Joseph Dunn, 1914.

JOHANN CHRISTOPH SCHWAB ON THE RELATIVE MERITS OF THE EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

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This paper is a sequel to an earlier article¹ which dealt only with one phase of the subject that I propose to discuss here in greater detail. While the previous contribution limited itself mostly to a treatment of Schwab's views on the German language and literature, the present paper aims to consider his monograph *Von den Ursachen der Allgemeinheit der Französischen Sprache und der wahrscheinlichen Dauer ihrer Herrschaft* as a whole and to offer a survey of the entire work, especially those sections not dealt with extensively in the former article.

Johann Christoph Schwab, the father of the poet Gustav Schwab, was born on December 10, 1743, at Ilsfeld in Württemberg. He studied philosophy and theology at Tübingen, served for eleven years as a tutor near Lake Geneva, where he acquired unusual familiarity with the French language and literature, and in 1778 became professor of logic and metaphysics at the Karlschule, which since 1775 was located at Stuttgart. As a philosopher he favored Wolff and Leibnitz in opposition to Kant. He was victorious in several prize contests instituted by various learned bodies and his monograph *Von den Ursachen* pleased Frederick the Great so much that he invited the author to come to Berlin. But Schwab preferred to remain in Stuttgart, where he became privy councilor and finally member of the *Oberstudienrat*.²

Von den Ursachen was written by Schwab in 1784 in competition for the annual prize of the Berlin Academy of Sciences.³ Schwab

¹ "A Criticism of the German Language and Literature by a German of the Eighteenth Century," in *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1923, pp. 193-201.

² ADB, XXXIII, 157-8. Schwab was once described by a contemporary French official who knew him as "un homme d'une probité reconnue, de beaucoup de philosophie, mais sans énergie et d'une réflexion trop trainante." Cf. J. Hartmann, *Schillers Jugendfreunde*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1904, p. 216.

³ Cf. my article in *MLN.*, cited above, p. 193.

shared the prize with Antoine Rivarol, the French littérateur, contrary to the generally prevalent belief that Rivarol, who wrote in French, was the sole recipient of the honor.⁴ A comparison of Schwab's and Rivarol's contributions shows that Schwab's work is by far the more thorough and adequate treatment of the subject, although Rivarol's essay, now used as a French text in American schools, is admittedly a brilliant piece of work from the point of view of style. Since papers written in German could not be read before the Academy, Schwab's work was presented to that body by the German Swiss member Merian in a French summary.⁵ This summary later attracted the attention of the French revolutionary Count Mirabeau, who had it copied and made interlinear revisions in the copy.⁶ In its first edition Schwab's monograph was printed together with Rivarol's essay under the title *Dissertations sur l'universalité de la langue française, qui ont partagé le prix adjugé par l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres le 3 Juin, MDCCLXXXIV. A Berlin, chez George Jacques Decker, Imprimeur du Roi. MDCCLXXXIV.*⁷ Rivarol's work appears first, covering 52 pages, and is followed by Schwab's monograph, which comprises 87 pages. The two papers are paged separately. A second revised and enlarged edition of Schwab, published independently of Rivarol, bears the title *Von den Ursachen der Allgemeinheit der Französischen Sprache und der wahrscheinlichen Dauer ihrer Herrschaft. Eine Preisschrift von Johann Christoph Schwab, Professor der Philosophie an der Herzoglichen Hohen Carlsschule zu Stuttgart, welche von der Königlichen Akademie*

⁴ This belief is refuted by Dieudonné Thiébault, *Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin*, Vol. II, pp. 308-9 (published as Vol. 24 of Barrière's *Bibliothèque des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France pendant le 18^e Siècle*, Paris, 1891). Thiébault was a member of the Academy from 1765 to 1785 and participated in the discussion of the papers and the awarding of the prize. In more recent times the contest has been treated by Maurice Pellissier in *Mercur de France*, LXIII (1906), pp. 63-71, and by F. Baldensperger in his *Etudes d'Histoire littéraire*, Paris, 1907, p. 41. See also my article in *MLN.*, cited above, p. 194.

⁵ Merian's summary is published on pp. 371-399 of *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres, Année MDCCLXXXV*, Berlin, 1787.

⁶ See *Lettres de Mirabeau à Chamfort, imprimées sur les Originaux écrits de la main de Mirabeau et suivies d'une traduction de la dissertation allemande sur les causes de l'universalité de la langue française, qui a partagé le prix de l'Académie de Berlin. Traduction attribuée à Mirabeau et imprimée sur le Manuscrit corrigé de sa main. A Paris, chez le Directeur de la Décade philosophique, . . . An V de la République française.* It is not a translation but the Merian summary with unimportant revisions by Mirabeau.

⁷ A copy is in the Boston Public Library. It is a quarto volume.

der Wissenschaften zu Berlin den 3. Jun. ist gekrönt worden (Tübingen, 1785).⁸ It has a preface of 24 pages, 138 pages of text and 106 pages containing 41 notes, as against 35 notes in the first edition. In 1803 Schwab's monograph was translated into French by D. Robelot. The translation bears the title *Dissertation sur les causes de l'universalité de la langue française et la durée vraisemblable de son empire. Par M. Schwab. . . . Traduit de l'allemand par D. Robelot. De l'imprimerie de Munier à Paris, chez Lamy, Libraire, 1803.*⁹ It contains, in the form of an introduction, a French letter written by Schwab to the translator, dated December 9, 1796, wherein the author deplores the French Revolution and declares that the France he speaks of so highly in his work is not the France of the Revolution.

In the following summary of Schwab's *Von den Ursachen* the second edition is used as the basis, a comparison of the two editions having shown that it is in every respect an improvement over the first and that its author intended his work to be preserved in that form.

Schwab opens his preface by saying that he has striven to be as impartial and accurate as possible, although the nature of the subject makes this difficult. In every case he promises to give his references — a practise which, he claims, was once overdone but is now neglected. He says (p. v) :

Diese Mode, nicht mehr zu citiren, hat meistens ihren Grund in der Unwissenheit und Bequemlichkeit der Schriftsteller: vielleicht ist sie auch, wie andere Moden, von den Franzosen zu uns gekommen; denn nur zu oft werden die Fehler dieser Nation in Deutschland nachgeahmt, während dass ihr Gutes verkannt, herabgewürdigt und zurückgestossen wird.

He confesses that there is much praise and censure in the work (p. vi) :

Ich kann mich hie und da geirrt haben: aber der ganze Ton meiner Abhandlung muss mich gegen den Vorwurf schützen, dass ich der Französischen Nation habe schmeicheln, und irgend eine andere habe herabwürdigen wollen. Ich habe eben so wie ein anderer, gewisse National-Vorurtheile von meiner Kindheit an eingesogen.

Prejudices, he is sure, must be disregarded in a scientific work.

⁸ A copy is in the University of Pennsylvania library. It is an octavo volume.

⁹ It was impossible to secure the Robelot translation in this country. Prolonged search in Paris finally brought a copy to light. It is now in the library of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C.

In the present case he is not trying to recommend French taste as a model to Germans (p. vii).

It would be foolish to attempt to grow French wines on the Rhine and Neckar but just as foolish to expect Germans not to like the French products. Nor can we encourage Germans to be original by teaching them to disdain French literature. Rousseau and other critics charge French authors with a certain sameness. This is untrue, for every good writer must be original, although he may treat a theme used by others and although all able writers are not equally original. It is far from Schwab's purpose to present French character as an ideal for Germans. Each nation must develop and perfect its own national faculties, which are conditioned by climate and form of government. But its rough edges must be planed off; it must be refined, enlightened and rid of prejudices; it must adapt the good points of others to its own purposes. Schwab's opinion of individuals, too, he says, always aims to be unpartisan. He states that he is not acquainted with any of the German authors whom he praises.¹⁰ He has been sparing, too, in his eulogy of Frederick the Great, except that he calls him *der einzige Monarch*, and he refrains from praising his judges, the members of the Academy. In his censure, too, he claims, he has tried to be just (p. xii):

Kein vernünftiger Mensch wird es mir verdenken, dass ich die Fehler unserer schönen Litteratur, die oft bis zu Thorheiten gehen, hie und da in etwas starken Ausdrücken gerügt habe: diese Ausdrücke waren eine Art von Rückwirkung gegen den äusserst widrigen Eindruck, den einige deutsche Produkte auf mich gemacht hatten.

He proceeds to quote from the 114th Epistle of Seneca, stating that the literary faults there set forth (careless style, bold experiments, archaisms, imitation of great writers' peculiarities) are those of German literature (pp. xiv-xv):

¹⁰ Schiller, his former pupil in the Karlsschule, is not mentioned by Schwab at all. But in the *Württembergisches Repertorium der Litteratur*, 1782, Schiller, reviewing Schwab's anonymously published *Vermischte deutsche und französische Poesien*, censures his teacher for his dilettant Gallic poetizing. See Goedeke ed. of *Schillers Werke*, II, pp. 381-3. Cf. also Berger, *Schiller*, I, p. 225 (5th ed.). Gustav Schwab, the son of Johann Christoph, in his book *Schillers Leben*, p. 111, attacks Schiller bitterly but unjustly for this review, ascribing base, revengeful motives to him. See Palleske, *Schillers Leben und Werke*, I, pp. 164 f. (16th ed.), and Weltrich, *Friedrich Schiller*, I, pp. 594 f. For proof that Schiller actually took courses under Schwab at the Karlsschule and hence was personally known to him see *Prof. Abels handschriftliche Aufzeichnungen über Schiller* in Weltrich, op. cit. I, pp. 837 ff. It is possible, then, that Schwab intentionally omits mention of Schiller in *Von den Ursachen* for reasons of animosity. But cf. note 14 *infra*.

Was könnten wir Deutsche mit den Anlagen, die wir von der gütigen Natur empfangen haben; mit unserm gesunden Menschenverstand, mit unserer ernsten und forschenden Vernunft, mit unserm ausdauernden Fleiss und unserer Lernbegierde, mit unserer Stärke in Charakter so wohl als im Körper, und endlich mit unserer Gutmüthigkeit, für eine vollkommene Nation werden, wenn wir nicht bloss diese oder jene Anlage allein bearbeiten, und sie zum Nachtheil der übrigen übertreiben, sondern sie alle verhältnissmässig ausbilden, und so zu einem Charakter vereinigen wollten!

In general criticism of German literature he has mentioned no names, but in specific points he gives the name.

Schwab deems it an advantage of French, especially politically, that it is very stable. He says (p. xvii):

Solche Fesseln kann sich nun freylich unsere Sprache nicht anlegen lassen: aber es könnte doch etwas ähnliches bis auf einen gewissen Punkt geschehen, und es wäre gut, wenn es geschähe.

He opposes the argument that a stable language hinders cultural progress. Even in France, he shows, the Academy cannot suppress the tendency to coin new words, and this tendency is one reason why so few good, correct writers are left in France in Schwab's day. In no way would it prejudice German religion, ethics, legislation, physics and commerce (the latter he calls "den Hauptpunct . . . , um den sich itzo die Europäische Staatskunst dreht"), if German did not have (p. xix):

so viele neue Wörter, so gezwungene Ableitungen, so ungeheure Zusammensetzungen, und so gesuchte Wendungen.

He believes that the more a writer has mastered a language, the less need he will have of new words.

Many footnotes have been added to the work (in this, the second edition) since its presentation to the Academy. Schwab had access to the library of the Regierungspräsident Freiherr von Gemmingen, with whom he also discussed the subject of the work. It was von Gemmingen who suggested the idea that the language of a politically preponderant nation is always the one most extensively used. At first Schwab did not hold this belief but he has become convinced of its truth.¹¹ While the work was in press, the author ran across Professor Eberhard's *Abhandlung über die Allgemeinheit der Französischen Sprache* in his *Vermischte Schriften* of 1784.

¹¹ This theory, so far as it affects the rise of French as the language of diplomacy, is refuted by Brunot in the last chapters of Vol. V of his *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900*, Paris, 1917.

He is pleased to note that Eberhard's plan of presentation coincides entirely with his own and that they agree in many points.

Herewith the preface, dated Stuttgart, December 20, 1784, ends.

The monograph proper opens with the first of the three questions propounded by the Academy: Was ist es, das die französische Sprache zu einer Universalsprache in Europa gemacht hat? Schwab begins his argument by developing the principal causes for the diffusion of a language. As soon as neighboring nations get into communication, he says, they must have a common organ of intercourse. The two languages enter into competition and one of them tends to get the upper hand. In this struggle much depends upon the nature of the languages, the qualities of the two nations and their political relations to others. Other things being equal, the easier language will be preferred. Difficulty of pronunciation and euphony are more important factors than size of vocabulary. But since there is little difference in this respect between the various European languages, word order and periodic construction are of even greater importance as criteria. Some recent grammarians (p. 4: "Grammatiker, die zugleich Philosophen waren") say there is no such thing as natural word order and that any order is natural so long as it reproduces the thought and feelings of the speaker. Schwab denies this, also in the case of Latin and Greek, quoting Cicero and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He calls such a natural order "metaphysische Wortfügung" (p. 5). On the other hand, regularity of word order tends more to make a language easy than natural order if the latter is apt to vary. The former is a great advantage for a language of international communication. It makes for clearness, which is of more value than sonorous periods. The regularity of a language characterizes the genius of a nation and shows how diligently the language has been cultivated. An uncultivated language fluctuates and is therefore unsuited for international intercourse. To be sure, every living language is in a state of flux, but the more cultivated ones are less so.

History, says Schwab, shows the superiority of a polished language over an uncultivated one. The Romans imposed their language on the conquered nations, still the Greeks did not learn Latin, while the Romans took to Greek diligently. Not until imperial days did Latin gain ground, while Greek always maintained

supremacy in the East. Again, when the northern barbarians had conquered the West, they exchanged their coarse languages for the more polished tongue of the Romans and Gauls, corrupting the new tongue and remodeling it in part according to the grammatical genius of their own native languages. Their vocabulary disappeared almost entirely in favor of Latin (p. 11):

Es ist so gar zu vermuthen, dass auch von dem Formellen der Römischen Sprache mehr als man insgemein glaubt, in die neuern übergegangen ist.

The predilection of Charles the Great for German, his mother tongue, is well known. Still even in his day Latin pressed German hard, the latter maintaining its position only where the Romans had not got a footing.

A nation that combines an easy, highly developed language with an advanced degree of culture and refinement has an added advantage. When a less cultivated nation comes into contact with a more civilized one, the members of the former have a sense of inferiority and respect, while the latter feel pride. The former will be apt to learn the language of the latter, which can express many shades of meaning and ideas that the other lacks. These advantages become increasingly clear to the less cultivated nation as it learns the new language. A higher degree of culture, then, helps in the diffusion of a language by attracting the less highly civilized nations. The Renaissance is an example of the desire for higher culture leading to the learning of a foreign language. Finally, add to the advantages of a highly developed language and culture the advantages of national greatness and power, and a nation's language will spread all the more rapidly. Military conquest is another very strong factor in helping to disseminate a language.

A language which is not preëminent but merely conspicuous will spread more slowly. The superior will attract the inferior (p. 27). The good qualities of the leading nation will be exaggerated and its emissaries in foreign countries will help spread its fame. It will be too proud to speak any other language than its own, as in the Congress of Frankfurt, 1682, where the French insisted on their language.¹² The easiness and degree of cultivation of a language, and the greatness, the power and the degree of culture of a nation are criteria for determining the preëminent language at any given

¹² The facts may be checked up by consulting Brunot, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 411 ff.

time. In this connection the development of the spirit of communication in Europe is important (p. 30).

The Christian religion, the Crusades, the international character of knighthood and the invention of printing are important factors. The establishment of postal service, embassies in foreign countries, the international nature of scholarship and the universities also served as media of communication. The Westphalian Congress, in which the nations seemed like members of a large family reconciled once more after a quarrel, shows how closely they had become related during this "Communications-Periode," which extended from the time of Charles V to Frederick the Great. During this period the need of a common language grew imperative and since French happened to meet all the prerequisites of such a language at the time, it became the common vehicle of international intercourse.

The second section (pp. 36 ff.) applies the principles above laid down to Italian and Spanish. Like French, says Schwab, these two languages have been fortunate, but not to the same extent. Italian was the first to develop, for French was still an uncouth tongue in Dante's day. Italy, the restorer of good taste in arts and sciences, with Rome, the center of all Christian Europe as its capital, also attracted attention by its universities, its ancient ruins and the important wars fought on its soil. But at the time of Dante and Petrarch Italian was not yet fully developed. Dante had to shape his *Vulgare Illustre* from various dialects, of which the Tuscan was the most perfected. As it was, the Divine Comedy had to be explained and commentated even in Italian universities. Then, too, besides Dante and Petrarch there was no great Italian poet in the 14th century. It required time for the new Tuscan dialect to take root, especially since printing was still unknown. Another reason why Italian did not spread in Europe was the newly born enthusiasm for the classics, which caused the mother tongue to be regarded as inferior and degenerate and not suitable for serious writing (p. 42).

Petrarch himself expected fame from his Latin poem *Africa*, which is now but rarely read. Those who regularly used the vernacular at the time were mostly mediocre imitators and the poetry of the era is encumbered by erudition. The real climax of Italian perfection came only with Ariosto, Machiavelli and Tasso. In this period Italian really enjoyed a wide dissemination, although

handicapped by the fact that the country was not unified (p. 45).

After all Tuscany was only a small province and Florence was not Paris. Thus Gelli and others said, in agreement with the Florentine Academy, that the language should be called Florentine and not Italian. Others, however, like Bembo, Trissino and Castiglione, who came from elsewhere, protested against this "despotism," a protest justified, according to Schwab, because of the revengeful attack made on *Jerusalem Delivered* by the Florentine Academy. Such quarrels, which were frequent in Italy and have occurred in Germany, too, hindered the diffusion of Italian, and not until 1665 the Dictionary of the Crusca appeared,¹³ which has never been regarded as authoritative in Italy as the Dictionary of the French Academy is in France (p. 46):

Noch heutzutage giebt es Italiänische Schriftsteller, die sich der Mundart ihrer Provinz bedienen; und auf dem Theater einer jeden Stadt herrscht der daselbst übliche Dialekt.

Finally Italian was handicapped by the geographical position of Italy.

Spanish had the same advantages as Italian, and political advantages besides. It acquired polish at about the same time (Boscan, Garcilaso, Hurtado de Mendoza), that is, early in the sixteenth century, when the golden age of Spanish poetry began, simultaneously with the highest development of Spanish civilization. Spanish had an advantage over Italian politically, but so far as opportunities for international communication were concerned, Italian had the advantage because of geography and because Spaniards did not travel. Italian culture was perhaps superior; the flower of Spanish literature and the glory of Spanish power were too ephemeral. At all events, Italian and Spanish were about equally diffused. The principal obstacle of both was Latin (p. 51):

Man machte denen, die statt derselben (i.e., Latin) die Landessprachen einführen wollten, den Vorwurf, dass sie das gesellschaftliche Band der Christenheit zu zerreißen suchten.

But from the beginning of the seventeenth century on Latin gradually lost ground and French, which then combined the advantages of Italian and Spanish, forged ahead.

In the third section Schwab applies the principles which he has developed to the French language. In the seventeenth century

¹³ The Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed., *sub* Dictionary, gives the date as 1612.

France became predominant, Italy lost even its apparent greatness and Spain sank into insignificance. As for Germany and England (pp. 53-4):

Deutschland war ein grosses, aber durch seine fehlerhafte politische Verfassung schwaches Reich; auch konnte es aus bekannten Ursachen schlechterdings nicht in die Sprachen-Concurrenz kommen. England, das mehr Ansprüche in dieser Sache hatte, war noch nicht durch seine unermessliche Besitzungen in den beyden Indien zu dem Colosse geworden, der in den neuern Zeiten durch seine ungeheuern Arme in Erstaunen setzte.

Even at the beginning of the Period of Communication France exercised its influence over all the European states, dictating to half the civilized world at the Peace of Westphalia. Under Louis XIV it became all-powerful. Its language gained accordingly and at the time of the Peace of Nimwegen it was preëminent as the language of the higher classes. The geographical expansion of France and a growing population made French, next to Slavonic and German, the language spoken by the greatest number of people. The political power of France acquired by large armies, successful wars, the increasing civilization of the nation and the refinement of its language added to French prestige (p. 56).

Italian, Spanish and English, says Schwab, are not so regular, especially in poetry and oratory — an important point for a foreigner learning a language. In Italian there is great freedom of inversion, and other irregularities in Italian poetry make the latter almost a language by itself. Similarly one may be able to read *The Spectator* and *Don Quixote* but not Milton and Garcilaso. On the other hand, whoever can read Pascal can read Rousseau's Odes. French began to acquire this regularity toward the end of the reign of Louis XIII; Montaigne and Malherbe still have irregular inversions not found in the classics. It required only a short time for French to gain its rigid regularity and stability, which show the great genius of the French men of letters responsible therefor. The French Academy alone could never have brought about such conditions.

Schwab says he is aware of the objections to the extreme regularity of a language. But even if such regularity is a handicap for original geniuses, it makes French a convenient organ of communication (p. 61):

Ist es nicht etwas ausserordentliches, dass von Pascal an bis auf Voltairen, die Französische Sprache sich so wenig geändert, und dass gerade die Nation,

die man für die unbeständigste unter allen Europäischen hält, und die es wirklich in einigen Rücksichten ist, ihrer Sprache am meisten Festigkeit und Charakter gegeben hat!

Richelieu and Louis XIV alone are not responsible for the excellence of French. Ronsard, in the first half of the sixteenth century, was read and imitated even by Opitz. Montaigne is still read, Desportes is still esteemed in France, and Malherbe is regarded as the creator of his language and of the French ode. The superior culture and civilization of France at that time, too, played a primary part in the diffusion of the language.

The climate of France is temperate and the productivity of its soil moderate. The proximity of Italy and the Roman colonies was an advantage. In Marseilles, which was built by Greek colonists and became famous as the Gallic Athens even in Cicero's day, Greek and Roman culture met and were fused, and it was in Southern France that new light first came after the Dark Ages. The vernacular in France derived inestimable benefits from Latin. New ideas were got from the Latin classics and words for new conceptions were coined on the analogy of the Latin. In similar instances the Germans had to coin entirely new words at the risk of being misunderstood or charged with contaminating their language. A language like French, which can take words from an already existing language, as from a great storehouse, has a distinct advantage — an advantage common to all the Romance languages.

Yet the political conditions in France were also an important factor in the dissemination of French. The French royal power remained a reality even in feudal days; the nobility and the Church maintained their self-respect but never got the upper hand. The people acquired power and influence gradually and without a conflict, as in England. Liberty never perished (p. 69):

Gerade das Gegentheil geschah in Deutschland, wo die grosse (*sic*) Vasallen zu allen Rechten der oberherrlichen Gewalt gelangten, während dass ihre Unterthanen in einer Art von Sklaverey blieben, wovon die Spuren noch heutzutage nur allzu sichtbar sind.

The considerable power of the French king and the dependence of popular liberty on him tended to favor social culture (pp. 70-71):

So ward Geschmeidigkeit und Milde der Sitten, mit freyem Anstande gepaart, der Charakter der guten Französischen Politesse, wovon aber freilich das Ideal weder von den Französischen Perückenmachern, noch von den irrenden

Marquis genommen werden muss. Sie liegt mitten inne zwischen der Blödigkeit und der ungeschlachten Freyheit. Sie giebt dem Umgange den reizendsten Anstrich, und hält die Ausbrüche der ungeselligen Leidenschaften zurück. In ihrem Munde verlieren die unangenehmen Wahrheiten, die gesagt werden müssen, ihre Bitterkeit und das Lob erhält neuen Reiz. Sie begleitet die Wohlthaten, die man dem Freunde erweist, und stellt sie ihm als eine Erleichterung vor, die man seinem eigenen Herzen verschafft. Sie nähert alle Stände der Gesellschaft, und stellt einigermassen die ursprüngliche Gleichheit unter den Menschen wieder her. Kurz, sie ist die schönste Blüthe der Menschenliebe, und setzt immer eine gewisse Seelengüte voraus. Eine Nation, bey welcher sie herrscht, hat gewiss viele gute Menschen, oder hat sie wenigstens in der vorhergehenden Periode gehabt: denn ich gebe gerne zu, dass bey einer Nation, deren Verfeinerung in Corruption ausartet, sie endlich auf blosse Ceremonien und Formeln hinausläuft, ja selbst der Firniss und das Vehikel der Verstellung und des Betruges wird.

French social polish, says Schwab, seems to go back many centuries and is a national trait. It is a combination of the Germanic respect for women and a freer association of the sexes.

French taste is of such a nature as to attract all nations to the language and literature of France. Without wishing to eulogize French taste, Schwab says it is a fact that French literature is read more than any other. Why has no other nation produced so many works of the spirit with a universal appeal? The richness and popularity of French literature prove that there is a "golden mediocrity" in French taste that pleases all European nations, a fact that is true especially of taste in the age of Louis XIV. The language of the French poets is clear, their conceptions simple and their thoughts lucid. Long periods are rare in French style, but when they do occur, as in Bossuet and d'Alembert, they are well constructed. Ambiguity is avoided, and there is only one central thought in each period. French also has an advantage in its principles (p. 76):

Ueberhaupt hat unsere Sprache (i.e., German) Ursache, die Französische um ihre Partisipien zu beneiden. Ich berufe mich auf unsere Geschichtschreiber.

French clearness is not mere shallowness, although of course there are many shallow works in French. French writers shun far-fetched metaphors, inflated style and bombast. Their plays are built up simply, with a natural language, unlike that of English and German drama. The characters are always human to a degree and there are but few utter villains. Such writers as Crébillon are rare, yet even he is not so bad ("so geschmacklos und so em-

pörend") as some of the German dramatists ("in einigen unserer Trauerspiele").¹⁴ Schwab continues (p. 78):

Was soll man von denen sagen, die das Unanständige, das Regellose, und die übrigen Ausschweifungen des Verfassers des Götz von Berlichingen nicht nur nachahmen, sondern noch übertreiben, ohne sein Genie, und (woran sie vielleicht nicht denken) ohne so viel Geschmack zu haben als er?

There is more respect for decency in French drama, and the vulgar expressions and the "Pickelhäringssossen" of Spanish, English, Italian and German drama are avoided. Everywhere in those species of French literature whose character is intended to observe decorum there is restraint.

The other nations are admittedly bolder in their literature and hence very often more original, in this way occasionally reaching the height of esthetic perfection while the French only approach it. Thus while French works are uniformly good but never come up to the critic's ideal, other literatures are very uneven but contain brilliant spots that meet with the critic's admiration (pp. 81-2):

So kann ein Kunstrichter leicht den Hamlet der Iphigenia und der Athalia, und noch leichter das verlorne Paradies durchgängig der Henriade vorziehen. Eine einzige Ode von Klopstock wiegt seinem Urtheile nach alle Oden Rousseaus und aller Franzosen auf. Dergleichen Männer muss es insonderlich unter einer zum Tiefsinn aufgelegten Nation geben, bey der oft das schon ein Verbrechen ist, dass man ihr nicht mehr zu denken und zu rathen giebt, sollte es auch bloss durch eine seltsame Versetzung der Wörter, oder durch verschraubte Gedanken geschehen.

But however much we may as individuals admire Ariosto, Shakespeare, Milton, Ossian, Klopstock, Goethe and Ramler, the world as a whole will prefer Racine and Voltaire.

Under Louis XIV, says Schwab, the French surpassed all others in eloquence, historical writing (in which English is only beginning to compete), drama and novel. The novels, read by the better classes everywhere, did much to spread the knowledge of French. Turning against those of his countrymen who prefer English literature to French, Schwab says (p. 84):

Indessen will ich zur Bestätigung meines Urtheils einigen meiner Landsleute, die ihren unnatürlichen Geschmack dem Französischen vorziehen, und sich über alle Nationen erhaben dünken, während dass sie von keiner verstanden

¹⁴ It is possible that in this passage Schwab, besides thinking of earlier dramatists, is also alluding in a veiled way to Schiller and especially *Die Räuber*. Cf. note 10 supra.

oder mit Vergnügen gelesen werden, das Urtheil des unpartheyischen Hume hersetzen.¹⁵

Thereupon he proceeds to quote Hume to the effect that under Charles II of England the taste of English writers was still far inferior to that of the French because of the inferiority of the English royal court to the French. Then too, English taste was not as refined as French on account of the more republican constitution of England and its more unfavorable climate. The scientific language of France is also simple and lucid, and although the Germans and Italians are more inventive and the English more profound in the sciences, the French are more polished and tractable in this branch. This has led to much flippant work in France, but work that is eagerly received by polite society in every nation because of the pleasing manner in which it is presented.

In France, says Schwab, the population has attained a rather high average degree of intelligence. Such geniuses as Kepler, Copernicus and Leibnitz may show the capabilities of a nation but prove nothing as to the ordinary run of people. Furthermore, while the other countries neglected certain fields of knowledge and science, France in the seventeenth century cultivated them all with some measure of success.

France has a geographical advantage, too, which must be added to its high civilization and its political power. Besides, the French are frequent travelers; they are also communicative, loquacious and entertaining. To be sure, Rousseau ridiculed the ebullient qualities of the French, yet he continued to live among them.

Even at the beginning of the Period of Communication French was widespread. At the Peace of Nimwegen it was the ruling language, and since then it has become even more prominent. It is, says Schwab, the language of the nobility in Germany and the northern countries, it is the social language of the higher class in the large cities and the language of correspondence, political negotiations and treaties. There seems to be a tendency for it to become even the language of writers and scholars, he adds.

The second question propounded by the Academy is: Wodurch verdient die Französische Sprache, die Universalsprache in Europa zu sein? Not everything, says Schwab, that contributed to the diffusion of French may be counted as a merit, but its softness and melodiousness, as well as the advantages mentioned above, namely

¹⁵ This may be interpreted as an attack against Lessing, who had died only a few years before.

regularity of word order, stability and the social polish of the French nation are undoubtedly merits. Yet no one should misunderstand the import of these arguments. The fact that French is more suited for international use than any other tongue, he adds, does not necessarily imply its perfection or its absolute superiority over others. Nor is it necessary to prove that French is more expressive, harmonious and picturesque than other languages, as these qualities would not be requisite for the purposes under discussion (p. 100):

Die Französische Sprache ist ihrer Anlage nach nicht so mahlerisch, wie die Deutsche: allein wussten deswegen Racine, und selbst Boileau, der doch von der Natur keine ausserordentliche Einbildungskraft bekommen hatte, ihre Gedanken besser zu versinnlichen, als die damals lebenden Deutschen Dichter?

French has become the international language not because it is a fad nor because of the popularity of French modes and customs, but because of its usefulness for a useful purpose. Schwab asks (p. 102):

Wer wollte behaupten, Friederich habe sie bloss deswegen so vollkommen gelernt, und allen andern vorgezogen, weil sie die Modesprache in Europa geworden war?

The third question, Ist zu vermuthen, dass die Französische Sprache ihren Vorzug behalten wird?, is considered by Schwab in the form: Is it likely that any nation will develop an easier, more cultivated language, a higher culture than France and a politically preponderant position, and will these advantages be supported by sufficient communication with other nations? Spanish is not likely to forge ahead again. Italy has had all the good fortune it may expect. Even if all Italy should come under one ruler through a revolution (wozu kein Schein vorhanden ist, p. 104) it would still be a mediocre country as compared with France, although its language will always remain popular. English, says Schwab, is one of the easiest languages, with practically no declensions or cases, all plurals formed alike, conjugations easier than the French, and a regular, simple word order, at least in prose and in the more recent writers. Its pronunciation, to be sure, is difficult, but so is that of French.

With regard to English literature Schwab says (p. 105):

Shakespear und Milton werden noch gelesen und bewundert, und die gleichzeitigen Französischen Dichter sind nun grösstentheils vergessen. Eine sonderbare Erscheinung, die den grössern Gehalt des englischen Geistes, aber zugleich die Ueberlegenheit der Franzosen in Rücksicht auf den Geschmack, der bei ihnen schneller zu seiner Bildung eilte, zu beweisen scheint.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries English literature reached its highest crest. English commerce extended to all parts of the world and wealth and luxury became prevalent in the country. Since Elizabeth England has been a constantly growing power. These facts make the diffusion of English certain, and in truth the language is heard and read in all the great cities of Europe. Yet English has not spread as widely as French and never will. It lacks the stability and regularity of French (p. 108):

Desto besser, werden einige sagen, für die Englische Sprache und Litteratur: jene (i.e., French) hat dadurch mehr Reichthum und Nachdruck, diese mehr Mannigfaltigkeit und Originalität bekommen.

English literature has not so many excellent works as French, nor so many masterpieces of eloquence, so many good tragedies and comedies, nor so many light works written merely to please and while away the time. Shakespeare and Milton may outweigh all the French writers combined, yet in the question of the diffusion of a language it is not genius but good taste that counts. Many have learned English, but only for the sake of reading its literature, not as a means of communication.

English wealth, prestige and power have helped the language and literature. However, England's last unsuccessful war (the American Revolution) has done her much harm, and although she will always be an important power in Europe, the rivalry of the other naval powers will never allow her to play a leading part again. With regard to the character of Frenchmen and Englishmen Schwab says (p. 111):

Der Franzose erhebt in dem fremden Lande seinen König und sein Vaterland über alles; allein er fährt nichts desto weniger fort, fremden Fürsten zu dienen, und stirbt nicht selten fern von dem väterlichen Heerd. Der reisende Engländer erhebt weder seinen König, noch sein Vaterland; er kann so gar über den erstern schimpfen: allein er kehrt demohngeachtet in seine Insel zurück; und sein König ist doch in seinem Sinn (man zweifle nicht daran) der grösste Monarch in Europa, weil er — an der Spitze der Brittischen Nation steht!

The reasons, then, that oppose English as an international language are permanent, for the English people will not change their stolid character, which is conditioned by climate. But Schwab makes a reservation (p. 112):

Ich rede aber bloss von Europa; denn in dem Nördlichen Amerika kann diese Sprache mit der daselbst wachsenden Volksmenge eine ungeheure Herrschaft erlangen.

The next section (pp. 113-136) is devoted to a discussion of the

German language and literature. It has been analyzed in detail elsewhere (cf. footnote 1 above), hence it is unnecessary to deal with it further at this point.

In conclusion Schwab says that at the time of writing there are five languages of the first rank, French, English, German, Italian and Spanish. The time will come when Slavonic, in its various branches, and perhaps also Turkish, will be among them. The indications are that with the years it will be necessary for the educated man to learn more and more languages. The only means of avoiding this is to adopt French as the language of international communication. In that case no one would have to be familiar with more than two languages, namely the mother tongue and French.

The remainder of Schwab's work (pp. 141-247) is taken up by notes. They are of a varied character, presenting grammatical and historical data, curious incidents, refutation of other writers on related subjects, points of comparative grammar, and philology within the limits then known. Speaking for instance of the poverty of German at the time of Charles the Great and Otfried, he maintains (p. 161) that many German words, which, as we now know, are of Indo-European origin, are of Latin provenience. He has interesting passages on the development of the German *Schriftsprache* (p. 184 ff.), on the extent to which Italian and other languages were spoken in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (p. 186 ff.) and on the diffusion of Spanish (pp. 194 ff.). Schwab's knowledge of English was apparently limited, as his quotations and remarks, p. 210 and *passim*, indicate. One passage from the notes may be quoted for the bearing it has on German literature.

Page 186: Wehe unserer Sprache, wenn daselbst einmahl eine Deutsche Akademie errichtet werden, und in dieser die neuern Kraftgenies die Oberhand bekommen sollten! — Unsere Franzosen-Hasser, die meistens Sprachverderber sind, sehen nicht ein, wie sehr sie Frankreichs Herrschaft in Deutschland begünstigen: denn wenn sie fortfahren, unsere Sprache zu zerrütten, so werden wir endlich alle Französisch reden und schreiben müssen.

Schwab's place in literary criticism is undoubtedly with Gottsched and the francophile critics, in opposition to Bodmer, Breiting-er and especially Lessing. Although it should not be overlooked that he is here pleading the case of French from a special point of view, namely its usefulness as a general vehicle of intercourse, it must be admitted that he is a firm adherent of French classicism and that his work echoes the opinions of that school.

A LITTLE LYTTTELTON

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Archibald Campbell, one of twelve of that name whose lives are epitomized in the Dictionary of National Biography, wrote two prose satires, *Lexiphanes* (1767) and *The Sale of Authors* (1767), which deserve respectful consideration on two counts.¹ They are professedly imitations of the dialogues of Lucian; and they present vigorous and unconventional views of Samuel Johnson and several of his eminent contemporaries.

This Campbell was no professional author, nor Grub Street scribbler. Before venturing upon his Lucianic paraphrases, he published nothing save two tracts in a religious controversy.² The dialogues themselves were the work of a naval officer's gentlemanly leisure, though indeed their style is none of the gentlest and one may question whether better might have been expected from the pursuer of a man-of-war.³

¹ The full title of the copy of *Lexiphanes* in the Library of Columbia University is:

Lexiphanes, A Dialogue

Imitated from Lucian, and suited to the present Times. Being An attempt to restore the English Tongue to its ancient Purity, And to correct, as well as expose, the affected Style, hard Words, and absurd Phraseology of many late Writers, and particularly of Our English Lexiphanes, the Rambler.

Whose ordinary rate of Speech
In Loftiness of Sound is rich;
A *Babylonish* Dialect,
Which learned Pedants much affect:
It is a parti-colour'd Dress,
Of patch'd and py-bald Languages:
'Tis English cut on *Greek* or *Latin*,
Like Fustin heretofore on Satin.

Hudibras.

The Second Edition, corrected.

London: Printed for J. Knox, near Southampton Street, in the Strand. MDCCLXVII, pp. xl, 188

The title of the copy of the *Sale* in the Library of the University of Illinois is:

The Sale of Authors, A Dialogue, In Imitation of Lucian's Sale of Philosophers (London, 1767), pp. xvi, 250.

² *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 1, Vol. XII, p. 255, gives some account of these pamphlets.

³ *An Essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, by Arthur Murphy, Esq. (London, 1793), p. 178.

Campbell himself says (*Lexiphanes*, p. vi) that he had to read the *Ramblers*

Lexiphanes was not unsuccessful. There were two regular editions in 1767 and at least two more before the death of Johnson. *The Sale of Authors*, though more carefully constructed, seems to have met with a less generous welcome.⁴ Perhaps the special charm of *Lexiphanes* lay in its "opprobrious expressions" concerning Doctor Johnson, expressions which the reviewer for the *Critical Review* found particularly hateful.⁵

Neither book was much praised by the critics. The earliest notice of *Lexiphanes*, that in the *Monthly Review* for May, 1767, begins with this trenchant sentence: "The author of the *Rambler* is here censured for writing ill, by a person who cannot write at all." This reviewer must have been unusually sensitive, for he found Campbell's humor "coarse and indelicate in the greatest degree," and his censures "malignant and illiberal."⁶ Perhaps the same man wrote the notice of the *Sale* in the *Monthly Review* for October. This time he says much in little: "Those who can admire Tom Brown, and think him equal to Dean Swift, may, for ought we know, be as much pleased with this writer as with Lucian."⁷

The two dialogues are undeniably long winded, with many pages of dulness and several of rank lewdness. But because they are "Lucianic" they merit more than a word. Campbell owed to Lord Lyttelton the idea of writing dialogues after Lucian. He gratefully dedicated *Lexiphanes* to Lyttelton as "the best and happiest imitator of Lucian our nation has yet produced" and the "purest and chastest" of living writers. His own style, however, bears no resemblance to that of the author of *Dialogues of the Dead* and little more to that of Lucian. The title of *Lexiphanes* is, of course, directly borrowed, and with it the fable of administering to an affected stylist an emetic which compelled him to spew forth his entire vocabulary of big words.⁸ There are several passages in

for lack of other books during a long voyage at sea. He makes the interesting assertion, too, (*Lexiphanes*, p. xxvii) that "this Dialogue, together with the *Sale of Authors*, and some other imitations of Lucian, was composed about three years ago in one of our American colonies."

⁴ Campbell's *Sale* may have suggested the scheme for *The Sale of Patriots*, a dull piece of satirical fooling, probably by James Courtenay. See *Essays from the Batchelor in Prose and Verse By the Authors of the Epistle to Gorges Edward Howard, Esq.* The second edition, with additions (Dublin, 1773), Vol. II, pp. 63-72.

⁵ *Critical Review*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 45-49.

⁶ *Monthly Review*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 399-400.

⁷ *Monthly Review*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 311.

⁸ Isaac Disraeli makes an appreciative comment upon this use of an old

which Campbell is close to his original. Notably, the opening of the conversation between Lexiphanes and the Critic is managed much as by Lucian. A page farther on, Campbell marshals an array of long words to match a similar display in the Greek. But he soon departs far from Lucian, putting into the mouth of Dr. Johnson an atrocious rhapsody which resembles the original only in the fact that it "begins in the middle and ends by interruption."⁹

The Sale of Authors is of more complex organization. It is a distant imitation of Lucian's *Sale of Philosophers* (or, as a modern translator calls it, his *Sale of Philosophies*). At the same time, it is an imitation, however weak and dull, of the form and content of Greek comedy. Campbell says in his preface: "My Lexiphanes is a downright imitation of Lucian's tho' somewhat enlarged; whereas in this, I have taken the hint from him only, and the composition and conduct, such as they are, I must answer for." He adheres to Lucian's frame fable to this extent, that he makes Mercury and Apollo, grown indigent, kidnap a number of authors and put them up at auction. Otherwise, except for a few phrases, the work is manifestly Campbell's, with never a dash of the fine flavor of Lucian.¹⁰ On the whole, the wonder is not that this purser of a man-of-war imitated Lucian badly, but that he imitated him at all.

In one respect, Campbell's pamphlets are still readable. They abound in spirited critical comments upon books and authors that have since afforded subjects for many an arid philosophical dissertation. In general trend, the criticism is fairly consistent throughout both pamphlets, inveighing against the "pedantry and affectation" of such contemporary writers as Johnson, Akenside, and Gray, but in half-hearted fashion defending even them against the crude incomprehension of the mob. Campbell was so thoroughly indoctrinated with the decorous classic principles of the Age of Anne, that he was thoroughly dissatisfied with the Age of Johnson.

oratorical device in his *Miscellanies of Literature* (London, 1840), p. 286. Cf. also Anstey's verse satire called *The Priest Dissected* (Bath, 1774), 33-34, where the same kind of medicine is administered to a poet of dyspeptic verses. Ben Jonson's use of the device in *The Poetaster* needs no mention.

⁹ *Lexiphanes*, pp. 8 ff.

¹⁰ *The Sale of Authors*, p. vii. In remarking upon the extent of his obligation to Lucian, Campbell says: "Mr. Hurd, I know, will not allow them the title of dialogues which, in imitation of Lucian I have given them." He adds a few words in praise of Hurd's "grave, philosophical" essays, evidently the *Moral and Political Dialogues* which appeared in 1759.

Although he declared repeatedly that his intention was not to deride particular persons but rather to ridicule the "pompous affected style" of popular authors of his day, *Lexiphanes* he evidently aimed first at Samuel Johnson, second at Mark Akenside, and only incidentally at other authors and their stylistic foibles.¹¹ The qualities of style to which he especially objected are enumerated in this arraignment of "lexiphanick" writers: "They are grave, solemn, formal coxcombs, and have much more of the ass than the ape in their composition; they can not endure an elision, are mighty fond of long-tailed worm-like words, and as they think our language does not afford a sufficient stock of them, they import them in great quantities from the Greek and Latin."¹² The whole matter is thus presented by the Critic who interrupts the rhapsody of *Lexiphanes* (Dr. Johnson): "I am assured you know nothing of the true spirit of the English tongue, which delights in words of one, two, or at most of three syllables derived from the old Saxon stock; and doth not willingly admit any Latin words whatever, at least in the common stile, unless they came to us through the channel of the French and have been long, if I may so express myself, denizens among us. But you, without any discernment or distinction, have huddled in all the Latin words you could scrape together, to which you could by any means affix an English termination."¹³

Upon listening to Johnson's flow of language, the Critic is sure that his companion is insane. He welcomes the arrival of a doctor. But when this dignified person, who proves to be Mark Akenside, proceeds to recite a passage from the *Pleasures of Imagination*, the Critic declares the doctor is madder than the patient. Akenside thereupon departs and a second doctor comes upon the scene. In his presence, Johnson makes these remarks upon blank verse: "Your sentiments and mine are, in this article, totally consonant and entirely consentaneous. For in order to maintain the dignification of blank verse and support its requisite exaltation over prose, our poets have been necessitated to have recurrence to an inverted collocation of words, retrigradation of accents, an abscission of vowels, a detruncation of syllables, and a diametrical aberration from all the legitimate modes of speech, without the smallest

¹¹ *Sale*, pp. iii-iv. Among those incidentally touched are Kames, Edward Young, and Joseph Warton.

¹² *Lexiphanes*, p. xxxvii.

¹³ *Lexiphanes*, p. 72.

relaxation of metrical rigour, repugnant and discordant to the genius of our language, and of which there are multifarious exemplifications in the productions of the immortal Milton himself.”¹⁴ Thereupon the doctor and the Critic decide to administer an emetic. Johnson objects, fearing that if he loses his affectations of style he will lose his pension. Nevertheless he takes his medicine, and vomits forth “devoid, delate, replete, succumb, discuss, torpor, rigor, vernal, diurnal, paucity, inanity, vicinity, celebrity, hilarity, repugnant, and abhorrent.” Still dissatisfied, the Critic insists on more reaction, declaring, “As yet I have seen none of his verba sesquipedalia, none of his words a foot and a half long, these I mean which end in *ation*, *ility*, *ality*, *utity*, *icitude*, *etitude*, and so forth.”¹⁵ The dialogue concludes with thirty pages in discussion of the principles of style, recommending Pope, Atterbury, Bolingbroke, Sprat, Tillotson, Clarendon, Temple, and above all Addison and Steele as models, and citing the authority of Swift and Lucian.

In *Lexiphanes*, the ribaldry is casual. In the *Sale of Authors*, the very theme is fundamentally vulgar burlesque. The scene is Langford’s auction rooms, where Mercury as auctioneer puts up for sale certain authors whom Apollo and he have kidnapped. Dr. Johnson is still ill from the effects of his emetic, and has lost his worth as an author. Says Apollo: “About an hour before I left him he had recovered his speech. But alas! he is no more the man he was. He speaks now like other people, not as he used to do, as if it were out of a book.”¹⁶ So the first to be offered is Gray. Mercury opens the sale thus: “Here, gentlemen and ladies, we exhibit the *sweetly plaintive* G——, the divine author of *Elegies on a Churchyard*, and a *Cat*; who bids for the *sweetly plaintive* G——?” To secure interest, he tells the story of Gray’s being roused by a false alarm of fire and escaping from his window by means of a rope ladder.¹⁷ He then asks Gray to show a specimen of his powers, and the poet responds first with

“The lowing herds wind slowly o’er the lea,”

and later with

“Ruin seize thee, Ruthless King!”

Of the latter line, Mercury says: “Better and better still. Only

¹⁴ *Lex.*, 105-106.

¹⁵ *Lex.*, 130.

¹⁶ *Sale*, p. 12.

¹⁷ *Sale*, p. 21.

observe with what sublimity he has expressed the very vulgar phrases of Devil take ye." But nobody will pay a good price for Gray, the booksellers insisting that poetry is a mere drug now-a-days (in 1767!). The next to be put up is Macpherson, the "Highland Homer." Mercury introduces him thus: "I shall only say, were he as good as he was difficult to catch, a better Poet never was brought to market. I hunted him for six days in the Highland hills; and often I thought I had him, but as often his *bushy hair whistling in the wind*, he burst from me like the Hum of a Song, or, dark, in a blast, like the Vapour of reedy Lego." The heavy humor of this grotesque representation of Macpherson gives place to cruder ridicule with the introduction of the author of the North Briton, who "squints most horribly."¹⁸ Wilkes is followed by his disciple, Churchill, who quite appropriately is the first poet to bring a good price at auction. Mercury's advice to him is such as he needed in 1767: "Scribble, publish as fast as ever you can. For if you continue to write as incorrectly as you have lately done, they will certainly fall out of conceit with you, just as they have grown tired of Tristram Shandy."¹⁹

For the rest, the "Sale" is concerned largely with petty jealousies of the London theatres. Garrick is made to talk like Bayes in the *Rehearsal*, and John Beard, manager of Covent Garden, is rebuked for his failure to appreciate a comedy which had recently been offered him by Dr. John Shebbeare.²⁰ There are also several jibes at the enthusiasm of the Methodists, and their adoration of George Whitefield. He is classed among popular authors with Hoyle, "the Professor of Whist," and several writers who dealt with the sports and vices of the times.²¹ Sterne, as "the sermonizing Buffoon," is mocked in four or five rather entertaining pages, and with him Hervey, the author of "Meditations, Contemplations, and Reflections."²² There are words of praise for certain good authors who are all dismissed because nobody will bid

¹⁸ *Sale*, p. 25.

¹⁹ *Sale*, pp. 28-35.

²⁰ *Sale*, p. 35.

²¹ *Sale*, pp. 58-99. Isaac Bickerstaff of Drury Lane comes in for special comment at page 85. The citizens hiss him on account of his *Love in the City*. On page 90, Mercury ironically rebukes Shebbeare for the "thinness of incident" in his rejected comedy: "The English, you know, are very fond of ladder and trap-door work, bolting out and in, and all such trumpery."

²² *Sale*, p. 116. Here the verdict concerning Sterne is: "The wit of his volumes does not so much consist in what is printed as in the manner of Print-

for them. Among these writers of "real and undoubted merit," one recognizes Dr. Hales, "Dr. Lowth, Mr. Hurd, Mr. Burke," Hume and Home, and "Doctors Smollett, Robertson, and Campbell," as well as Lord Kames, "the Author of the *Elements*," and Mrs. Macaulay, "the female historian who writes with such surprising strength and Majesty."²³ Not so easy of identification is "the great Colossus, who bestrides the narrow world of literature and has cast his shoe over all the regions of science." That an Oxonian describes him as "a most celebrated Logician," helps but little. If Johnson were not already before us as *Lexiphanes*, we should suspect him here. We have a clue, however, in the fact that the Unknown has proved a connection between Free Masonry and the Eleusinian Mysteries, and when we are told that he calls a fife "th' fear-spenser" we soon identify him as Warburton.²⁴

In general, there is much that is amusing, and little of permanent value, in Campbell's two dialogues. They are neither close imitations of Lucian nor inspired paraphrases. Their chief interest is in their comments upon contemporary authors, and even here the omissions are more striking than the remarks. Campbell attacks Johnson and Akenside for the stylistic weakness which posterity plainly perceives, but he says nothing at all of Goldsmith. Smollett he pays his respects to as a controversial writer rather than as a novelist, and he entirely overlooks Richardson and Fielding. The author of *Lexiphanes* has given us merely one more evidence of the fact that contemporary criticism is inevitably unreliable, one more suggestion that our view of the authors of our own times is confused and distorted by false perspective and can be corrected only through the eyes of the calm critics of the generation to come.

ing it; in his Breaks, Dashes, and asterisms; in his blank Pages and Chapters; and in misquoting and mis-reckoning both."

²³ *Sale*, pp. 128 ff.

²⁴ *Sale*, p. 42. The reference is of course to Othello, Act III, Sc. iii, 408. Warburton's commentary is readily accessible in Furness' *Variorum*.

SOCIAL SATIRE IN FIELDING'S *PASQUIN* AND *THE HISTORICAL REGISTER*

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Fielding called *Pasquin* "A Dramatick Satire on the Times," and such it is. Both *Pasquin* and *The Historical Register* are full of timely references to the England of 1736 and 1737. It has been customary, however, to refer to these plays as political satires only, and to stress Fielding's hits at the Walpole administration. As a matter of fact, they are equally full of social, and theatrical and literary satire. Some of the latter I discussed in my article on Fielding and the Cibbers, *Philological Quarterly*, October, 1922. In the present study it is my purpose to show how these plays became a mirror¹ in which we may see reflected the social follies and vices of Fielding's time, the manners and customs of the *beau monde* in London in the first half of the eighteenth century. As in the former paper, I shall endeavor to show, in the light of contemporary evidence, that Fielding's satire was sure to be met by the laughter of his audiences, in that he was but holding up for ridicule the popular jokes of the day.

Among the foibles of the polite London world of 1736 none, perhaps, was more widely held up for ridicule than the craze for Italian opera, and particularly for Farinelli, the celebrated Italian male soprano. A writer in the *Universal Spectator* for October 5, 1734, in a satire on British amusement, after stating that tragedy was too sublime, and that the delight of his age consisted in pantomime, went on to say:

Music, I own should ne'er be understood,
But warbled Nonsense is supremely good;
Sweet, senseless, sing-song, softens sinking Souls,
And unintelligible Sound controuls.

.

¹ Dr. Hugo Oschinsky has used the word as applicable to all of Fielding's plays in the title of his little monograph, *Gesellschaftliche Zustände Englands während der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel Fieldingscher Komödien*. Berlin: 1902.

Our British Patriots fall beneath a Note,
 Sent from an Eunuch and Italian Throat,
 While our own Language much offends the Ear;
 For Sense and Sound united harsh appear.

In 1735 a copy of Hogarth's print, *The Beggar's Opera Burlesqued*, was published under the title, "The Opera House or the Italian Eunuch's Glory, Humbly Inscribed to those Generous Encouragers of Foreigners and Ruiners of England." By April, 1736, the fad for Farinelli was evidently waning. Hill wrote in the *Prompter* of April 2, in his comment on the success of *Pasquin*: "*Farinelli's* Benefit has pass'd, without an Article mentioned in any Paper, of a single Present made him; nay, I have been told, some of the Subscribers *used* their Tickets; yet everybody can remember last Year, what an Epidemical Madness was diffused all over the Town, caught by a Poison he communicated to everybody within the Reach of his Breath, against which there cou'd be found no *Antidote*, nay, not even a *Preservative*." And Mrs. Pendarves, writing to Dr. Swift, April 22, 1736, said: "When I went out of town last autumn the reigning madness was Farinelli; I find it now turned on Pasquin, a dramatic satire on the times."

Farinelli, during three years in London, 1734, 1735, and 1736, on a salary of £1500, had through gifts and benefits a yearly income of at least £5000, and this was one of the objections to him made by English satirists. Fielding, in the epilogue to *The Universal Gallant*, said, speaking of the Italian singers:

By the vast sums we pay them for their strains,
 They'll think, perhaps, we don't abound in brains.

In Plate II of Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress* is a long scroll of paper inscribed, "A list of the rich Presents Signor Farinello the Italian Singer condescended to accept of y^e English Nobility and Gentry for one Night's performance in the opera *Artaxerxes*." There is a picture of a lord in *A Trip to Vaux-hall, or a general satire on the Times* (1736) who, though he was in the butcher's books and had other bills unpaid, gave Farinelli fifty pounds. A poem in the *Grub-Street Journal*, June 5, 1735, satirized the same tendency:

Whilst Britain, destitute of aid,
 Weeps taxes and decaying trade;
 Sees want approach with nimble pace,
 And ruin stare her in the face;

Charm'd by the sweet *Italian's* tongue,
 In show'rs of gold she pays each song.
 Say, politicians, how agree
 Such *bounty*, and such *poverty*!
 Each Cit for thee, dear FARINELLI,
 To feed the ear, neglects the belly.
 The wondrous magick of thy voice,
 Stills parties' ever-jarring noise:
 For thee together they combine,
 And in harmonious discord join.

.

For him the Cits, to please their spouses,
 Cut down their trees, and sell their houses:
 Whilst he departing, (and what worse is)
 Leaving behind him empty purses,
 Melodious chymist! counts his gains
 Extracting gold from leaden brains.

And a writer in *Fog's Journal*, January 24, 1736, had the same criticism to make. Speaking of public ticklers, he said: "I must not here omit one Publick Tickler of great Eminency, and whose Titillative Faculty must be allowed to be singly confined to the Ear. I mean the great *Signor Farinelli*, to whom such Crowds resort, for the Extasy he administers to them through that Organ, and who so liberally requite his Labours, that if he will but do them the Favour to stay two or three Years longer, and have two or three Benefits more, they will have nothing left, but their Ears to give him."

Another objection to Farinelli, best shown, perhaps, by Fielding's calling him Squeekaronelly, was a general objection to Italian *castrati*. As early as December 4, 1734, a writer in the *Prompter* spoke of eunuchs' voices as unnatural, and doubted Farinelli's power to feel the emotions of his various roles: "How can Signor *Farinelli*, or any of his Stamp, convey into the Breasts of his fair *Auditors*, those soft Passions requisite in this Case, since 'tis impossible to suppose he can *feel* them within *himself*!" And a mention of Farinelli as late as 1739 in *Manners: A Satire*,² which called forth the following footnote, "That living Witness of the Folly, Extravagance and Depravity of the *English*; *Farinello*, who is now at the Court of *Spain* triumphing in the Spoils of our Nobility, as their Pyrates are in those of our injur'd Merchants," spoke of his singing as follows:

² By Mr. Whitehead. London: 1739.

What piping, fiddling, squeaking, quav'ring, bawling,
What sing-song Riot, and what Eunuch-squawling.

Fielding's strongest objection to Farinelli, as evidenced by the rather coarse allusions to him in the scene of the ladies in *The Historical Register*, was that he was made an idol of by the women of fashion, and this objection was shared by others. Dibdin speaks of the infatuation which was typified by the exclamation of one woman in the boxes, "One God, one Farinelli!" and remarks that it was so excessive and effeminate that several manly writers (and surely Fielding was one) reprobated it. A reference like the following from the Historical Chronicle in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1736, shows the trend of thought which Fielding satirized: "Sat. 14. A Young Lady being sued by a Gentleman in a Court of Equity for refusing to perform a Marriage Promise to him, pleaded she had good Reason to alter her Mind, upon hearing him declare himself no Admirer of Farinelli, and disapprove of Balls, Masquerades, and late Hours; adding, she doubted not the Court would think she had a fortunate Escape." Perhaps the best satire, however, of this tendency on the part of the women to worship the Italian singer is the representation on Plate Two of Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress* of Farinelli seated on a pedestal, with an altar between his feet on which two hearts are burning, while many ladies are offering hearts to their idol.

The opera and Farinelli were twin antipathies³ for many satirists of the time, for the foregoing reasons. An additional reason that Fielding frequently stresses, manly Briton that he was, is the patriotic one that such effeminacies are un-English. In such passages the banter seems to drop away, and the ring of the words is serious. When Sourwit in *The Historical Register* marvels at the conversation concerning Farinelli which he has just heard from the lips of the London ladies, Medley replies: "Faith, Sir, let me tell you, I take it to be ominous; for if we go on to improve in Luxury, Effeminacy and Debauchery, as we have done lately, the

³ As they are in these lines from *A Trip to Vaux-hall, or a general satire on the Times*, by Hercules Mac-sturdy, (London: 1736).

And Musick ne'er was fram'd for Men who think:
Or would so many thoughtless Boobies run
To squeaking Op'ra's till they're half undone?
Or Ladies worship Farri as a God?
Who, say some Criticks, rather is a Rod,
Or Scourge to lash the Follies of the Age,
And drive all Sense and Virtue from the Stage.

next Age, for ought I know, may be more like the Children of squeaking *Italians* than hardy *Britons*." French fashions also furnished Fielding with a target for ridicule. When he makes the Squire in *Pasquin* speak of the glorious days "before your damn'd *French* Fashions were brought over," he was touching upon one of his favorite subjects. He was English to the core, and nowhere perhaps has he stated the cause of England so eloquently as in the epilogue to *The Universal Gallant* (1735):

— Now for the wits — but they so nice are grown,
 French only with their palates will go down.
 French plays applause have, like French dishes got,
 Only because you understand them not.
 Happy old England, in those glorious days,
 When good plain English food and sense could please:
 When men were dress'd like men, nor curl'd their hair,
 Instead of charming, to out-charm the fair.
 They knew by manly means soft hearts to move,
 Nor ask'd an eunuch's voice to melt their nymphs to love.
 — Ladies, 'tis yours to reinstate that age,
 Do you assist the satire of the stage!
 Teach foreign mimics by a generous scorn,
 You're not asham'd of being Britons born.
 Make it to your eternal honour known,
 That men must bear your frowns, whenever shewn
 That they prefer all countries to their own."

Closely connected with the adoration of Farinelli is the polite conversation which Fielding imitates so extravagantly, so it seems, in *The Historical Register*. But that he may not have been exaggerating very much the banality of the conversation indulged in by fashionable society can perhaps be imagined when we read the following extracts from a dialogue sent to the *Grub-Street Journal* of February 17, 1737, by "a very constant reader, J. B.," who asserted that he was in the company of four or five young ladies and one young gentleman, and brought away in his memory as much of their conversation as he could, as an illustration of the truth of the complaints which had been made of the insipidness of the conversation of young people. This dialogue proved so popular that it was reprinted February 24.⁴

⁴ Judging from the allusions to Colley Cibber's withdrawal of his alteration of *King John*, Fielding was writing *The Historical Register* between the end of February, 1737, and the 21st of March, when it was produced. It is therefore probable that he read this conversation while engaged in the composition of his own burlesque.

Miss Fidget. Oh! Miss *Trifle*, when are you and I to go to the new Opera? Will you go next saturday?

Trif. Lord! Mem, I have seen it.

Fidg. Indeed! and how do you like it?

Trif. Oh! most violently! the finest thing! — 'tis full of *Adagio*.

Fidg. Oh! that dear *Adagio*! — I am charm'd with the *Adagio*, 'tis so quick and nimble; and keeps up one's spirits — I detest any thing dull — Lord! what do you think I heard last night?

Trif. Lord! what? I don't know.

Fidg. Tho' I swear, I don't believe there's any thing in it.

Trif. Well! but what?

Fidg. Why, that *Farinelli* is going away.

Trif. Oh, good God! I hope not — I would not have him go, without seeing him once more in *Antisursi* for all the world.

Fidg. Oh! there is the sweetest Song in that dear Opera, that begins *Sunkinevi chitah*.

Spritely. Oh! that's Miss *Fairlove's* favourite Song; she's always humming it.

Fidg. Lord! Mr. *Spritely*, she can't sing — I never heard any body make such a terrible noise in my life.

Fidg. Oh lack-a-day, Miss *Edging*, when did you see Mr. *Tattle*?

Edg. Lord! Miss *Fidget*, why, do you know Mr. *Tattle*? I was dancing with him t'other night — I swear, I think he's a mighty pretty man.

Fidg. Devil! I am sure he gallanted me a fan so last week, will cost me half a crown to get it new mounted. — Pray, Miss *Edging*, where did you buy your fan? I like it prodigiously.

Edg. I bought it in the City; it cost me but eighteen-pence.

Fidg. Well! I swear 'tis mighty pretty; I'll get me one of 'em to-morrow, if I live — they say, there is a new-fashion'd sort of fans just come up in France.

In the conversation of the London ladies in *The Historical Register* the fad for wax-works is satirized. This seems to have been a popular fad of the year, and brought forth numerous advertisements in the papers, of which the following, from the *Daily Post*, May 20, 1736, is typical:

By Desire of several Gentlemen and Ladies, The Gentlemen who have lately purchas'd those Curious Figures of Human Anatomy in Wax, Sold at the New-Exchange, Have permitted the said Figures to be view'd at the said Place, at one Shilling each.

By Gentlemen

To-morrow the 21st.

Monday the 24th.

Wednesday the 26th.

By Ladies

This Day the 20th.

Saturday the 22d.

Tuesday the 25th.

A later advertisement announced Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays,

and Fridays for gentlemen, and Wednesdays and Saturdays for ladies. The *London Evening-Post* for April 20-22, 1736, also advertised a sale of wax figures, the catalogues for which at one shilling each were to be had at Mr. Cock's, in the Piazza, Covent-Garden.

Advertisements of auctions were also common, "At Mr. Cock's in the Great Piazza, Covent-Garden." The name of Fielding's auctioneer in *The Historical Register* was simply a pun which probably made a popular hit with his audiences. Ralph, in his *The Taste of the Town* (1731), Essay VII, speaks of "the worthy Mr. Cock of Broad-street, near Golden square," as follows: "He is allow'd by all the World, to be a very clever Gentleman in his Business, and manages his little Hammer as much to the Purpose as any Instrument can possibly attain to: His Flourishes are genteel, yet significant; his Manner of Address easy and well-bred, but intrepid; his Phrases manly without Rudeness, and expressive without Obscurity, or Circumlocutions. Not *Tully* himself could fill a *Rostrum* with more Grace, or Eloquence. And we may venture to affirm, for the Glory of this Age, and our own Nation, that if assisted by the Endeavours of the Reverend Mr. *H—ly*, Restorer of the Antient Elocution and Action; that the Industry and Capacity of these two Gentlemen will raise *Pulpit-Oratory* to a higher Pitch of Fame than Mankind yet has known." Ralph, in the same essay, testifies to the popularity of "Publick Auctions, which of late Years are become one of the principal amusements of all ranks." He says that foes to auctions say that "fine ladies go there only to get the better of some idle Hours, and that Gentlemen will follow them: 'Both are oblig'd in Honour to bid for something, tho' ever so unnecessary; and when they are so happy as to meet with a delicious Bargain, they do not know what to do with their Purchase, and would give Fifty *per Cent.* to have this Piece of good Fortune taken off their Hands.'" "These *Entertainments*," Ralph goes on to say, "are so calculated for the Use of the *Idle* and *Indolent*; that Morning, Noon and Night, they may know where to be most agreeably busy."

The auction scene, it should be noted, contains several hits at

⁵ See Fielding's *The Universal Gallant*:

Mondish. Then that cursed rendezvous of the sexes, which are called auctions.

Sir Simon. I thank heaven there are none to-day; I have search'd all the advertisements.

social vices: modesty was put aside as out of fashion; a clear conscience and the cardinal virtues were laid by; but everybody, including Lord Dapper, who was merely watching the rehearsal of the play, bid for interest at court.

There is no doubting the fact that the fashionable world of Fielding's time was full of vice. The practice of "keeping," which Fielding hits, the gaming, the intriguing, the running into debt — trades which Lord Place told the mayor's wife people of fashion could practise — all of these are illustrated in the drama and fiction of the time. One of the interesting things in connection with Fielding's portrayal is the contrast he draws between the consequences of the vices of the rich and of the poor. People of quality are never punished, said the mayor's wife, a comment which corresponds with the song in *Tumble-Down Dick*:

*Great Whores in Coaches gang,
Smaller Misses,
For their Kisses,
Are in Bridewell bang'd;
Whilst in vogue
Lives the great Rogue,
Small rogues are by Dozens hang'd.*

In Lord Dapper Fielding hits at the frivolity and inanity of the life of the London beaus of quality, just as he did later in *Joseph Andrews*,⁶ where a gentleman gives a journal of his life for one day.⁷ The most interesting part of the picture is that of Lord Dapper as a judge of plays, with his interest in the looking-glasses of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and his naive remark that "one does not go to see the Play, but the Company." "But as I am one Half of the Play in the *Green-Room*," he goes on to say, "talking to the Actresses, and the other Half in the Boxes, talking to the Women of Quality, I have an Opportunity of seeing something of the Play, and perhaps may be as good a Judge as another." This latter statement causes the Prompter to exclaim, after Dapper's exit,

⁶ Book III, chapter III.

⁷ For a similar account see Harry Careless's Memorandum, as given in the *Universal Spectator*, April 6, 1734:

"To breakfast at Lady *Fanny Scandal's* at Eleven. — Miss *Tattle* to be there. — *Mall* — in the Drawing-Room. P. and P. — look'd very agreeable. Pr'ss smil'd often. — Lady in White exceeding pretty. — Enquire she lives. — *Cocoa-Tree*. — *Court of Requests*. — Call at *Jenny's*. — Dine at *Bedford-Head*. — Boxes at *Covent-Garden Theatre*, at Mad'm's'lle *Salle's* new Dance. — Club — with *Harry Stonecastle*."

"Thou art a sweet Judge of Plays, indeed, and yet it is in the Power of such Sparks as these, to damn an honest Fellow, both in his Profit and Reputation." Here Fielding seems to be saying a half-serious word for his fellow playwrights and himself in the face of what must have been an annoying state of affairs. Ralph, in his essay on audiences,⁸ speaks of the boxes as follows:

During the Time of the Representation, the Ladies are so employ'd in finding out all their Acquaintances, Male and Female, lest a Bow or Curtsy should escape them; criticising on Fashions in Dress, whispering across the Benches, with significant Nods, and Hints of Civil Scandal of this, and that, and t'other Body; — they scarcely know whether they are at OPERA or PLAY.

While the Belles are ogling the Beaus, and the Beaus admiring themselves, the Affairs of real Moment (which should have seduc'd them there) are entirely neglected. . . . The Gentlemen are so taken up with their own Intrigues, that they never mind them on the Stage.

The Ladies tattle too much to one another to heed *Comedy*, it is too much of a piece with their daily Life.⁹

Ralph ends his picture by exhorting those who go behind the scenes and obstruct the actors in their entrances and exits, to confine themselves to the Green Room, or the Actresses' Shifts. He also gives a picture of another tribe of theatrical judges who damn plays in coffee houses on slight evidence: "They rise from Dinner about seven, peep in at the *Hay-Market* for one Song; then get a Snap of the Third Act at *Drury-Lane*, and a Morsel of the Fourth at *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*; then *Presto-Pass*, like a Juggler's Ball, they finish with the *Opera*." Then, concludes Ralph, they fly to drawing rooms and assemblies and expatiate on the ill taste of the play.

Thus the timeliness of Fielding's social satire in these plays may be substantiated by an examination of the periodicals and pamphlets of his day, — a timeliness which Fielding surely relied upon to win the desired laughter of his audiences.

⁸ *The Taste of the Town: Or, A Guide to all Publick Diversions*. London: 1731. Essay V.

⁹ See Hogarth's *The Laughing Audience* (1733), where the figures in the boxes are too much interested in their own concerns to note the play. See also Fielding's *Miss Lucy in Town*, where Tawdry describes the actions of ladies at a play who come in to "shew themselves, spread their fans upon the spikes, make curtsies to their acquaintance, and then talk and laugh as loud as they are able."

BOOK REVIEWS

American English, by Gilbert M. Tucker. 375 pp. Knopf, 1921.

Approximately 2800 terms which have been regarded as peculiar to the speech of the United States are presented in two lists—"Exotic Americanisms" and "Some Real Americanisms." Chapter II is an admirable discussion of ten important treatises on Americanisms. Chapter I is a rather aggressive apologetic for American speech. Mr. Tucker clearly shows the absurdity of the position of some Britons in calling every word or expression that they do not like an "Americanism." I do not agree at all, however, with his contention that an Americanism is not an Americanism if it can be shown historically that the term was used first in England—even though the English record ante-dates the first settlements in America. A term which is at present widely and intelligibly used in the United States, but which is unfamiliar and unintelligible to all or to most Britons, is now an Americanism, even though it originated in an English dialect or in the English literary language. The test is present general usage. The usages of the vulgar speech belong, of course, to an entirely different category. Those which can be documented before 1600, and which are at present common to America and England, are not Americanisms.

Attention should be called to the significance of the fact that about half of the "real Americanisms" in Chapter IV are obsolete or regional.

T. A. K.

The Literary History of Hamlet. I. The Early Tradition, by Kemp Malone. (Hoops. Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 59). C. Winter, Heidelberg, 1923.

One concludes the reading of this work somewhat dazed by the number and boldness of its combinations, though brilliant combinations have been nothing infrequent in Norse philology from the days of Sophus Bugge. The author has, be it said, observed well the rules of the philological game, is adequately grounded in the literature of his subject-matter and his zest of discovery is refreshing in these days of post bellum lassitude.

The work in no way conflicts with that of Schick (*Corpus Hamleticum*) in its present extent, which it does not even mention. The first chapter deals with "The Germanic North in the Migration Period," perhaps on a broader basis than is necessary for the immediate investigation. The remaining chapters are devoted to the identification and synthesis of what the author regards as Hamlet material from Old English and Old Scandinavian sources. The unique Old Norse name Amlóthi is explained as derived from the fusion of Anlóthe ("mad Ole"), which leads directly to the identification of the person so called with the Swedish king Onela of *Beowulf*, with whom is also identified

the *Ali inn frækni* of Icelandic sources. The now familiar identification of Beowulf with Bjarki is accepted and developed further. Both names are apparently appellatives with equivalent meaning, that is nicknames, which have supplanted the real name. The theory that Yrsa was the wife of Onela is accepted and developed. The father of Onela was Egill, with Ongentheow-Angantýr as by-name. In Jutland he was known as Orvendill. Alfr of the *Ynglinga saga* is the same person. He was a worshipper of the god Týr. Vendilkráka was a nickname applied to him. The Jutish saga as found in Saxo is a composite of at least two elements: a Geatish Amleth saga (the author inclining to the idea that Geats of Sweden had migrated to Jutland) and an Anglian Uffe saga. This brought with it various shifts of rôles, in some cases to more or less reversed relations. The *Hervarar saga* serves as an illustration of the development assumed and at the same time furnishes material for further combinations. The three Angantýrs of this saga are different phases of one and the same original, identical with the Ongentheow of Old English. The story of Angantýr II and Heithrekr is further identified with Hæpcyn. His name is explained as cognate with Hreþel of *Beowulf*. It had also become confused with Höþr, which is related to Hæpcyn. Hreþel was in conflict with Egill. Saxo's story of Hotherus and Balderus is that of Hæpcyn and Harebeald contaminated with the myth of the god Baldr. Ali given by Snorri as a secondary form for Váli brings us back to Onela. Hæpcyn is further identified with Feng of the Amleth saga. The simulated madness of Amleth arose from ideas associated with the epithet "mad" Ole. This new motif played an important part in transforming the material historical at basis into the legend finally available to Shakespeare.

The saga of Helgi is next shown to be in its essential features astonishingly parallel to that of Amleth and the minor but sharply outlined differences are accounted for. The historical basis of the one was distinct from that of the other, but in Norway and Iceland the legendary developments tended to coalesce. The possible process is suggested in detail.

The printing has naturally suffered from lack of proof-reading by the author. The reviewer has already since the arrival of his copy of the book received two installments of separately printed corrections and additions with typewritten items included. And this hardly clears the slate. Very disturbing is for instance the division of the Danish word *fort-yskning* (p. 116) instead of *for-yskning*. It remains under all circumstances a sad comment upon the American publishing business that a book of this sort still has to be printed and published in Germany.

The reviewer does not wish to be understood as endorsing the conclusions reached in the work either in general or in detail. He is frankly sceptical as to a great number of them or certainly not as sanguine as the author (p. VI). He would particularly criticize the loose use of the word "historical" for inferences dealing with a prehistoric period. At the same time he would emphasize that the future student of the material in question or other material bearing upon it must weigh very carefully Malone's contentions and would expect that in more than one case they may prove of value. Particularly appealing are some of the comments on the *Hrólfs saga kraka* and related

sources. The breaking point lies in the excessive tendency to identify different legendary personages. The synthesis is too strong for the limited analysis. Our knowledge of Old Norse and Old Germanic materials has in general not yet reached the point where synthesis can be expected to be permanent.

Least I remain open to the charge of irresponsible generalization I will in the space allotted me enter into greater detail upon a single point, that of the interpretation of *Amlópi* as "mad Ole." In the first place the etymology of the name has at least been approached before, as its dissection onto *Aml-ópi* and the identification of the latter element with the adjective *ópr* (weak *ópi*) is as old as Detter (1892), while the whole name has frequently been brought into connection, if not with *Óli*, at any rate with its compound *Óláfr*, with use of the Irish *Amhlaidhe*. That an adjective epithet in weak form as by-name, in itself perfectly transparent, should have become and remained in this way amalgamated in an old name seems in the nature of the case and in the light of Old Norse name-giving improbable. If the Germanic cases cited by Malone of this element are of value, they merely demonstrate what one would expect, — the typical compound Old Germanic personal name without any question of a by-name. It would then certainly be most plausible to regard the first part *Ami-* as equivalent to the Germanic element *Amal-*, which is not infrequent as the first member of personal names (Cf. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, I, 88 ff.). Malone's effort to account for the form through a Celtic intermediate stage, while ingenious enough, is somewhat of a strain upon credulity. That ideas associated with this by-name *ópi* should have suggested the feigned madness motif of Hamlet is, granted the by-name, most improbable of all. It was in Old Norse a word of such creditable connotation that it is commonly assumed to underlie the etymology of the name of Odin himself, while the god's name *Ópr* is obviously identical with it. Its Old Norse meaning is regularly that of "impetuous," "dashing," "storming," "reckless," in which sense it was also used as by-name (Cf. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden*, 270). It contains nothing of the imbecile and could not at all appropriately be referred to the feigned stupidity of Hamlet, to which at least in the classical Icelandic period *fíflski* or *heimski* would much better apply. Both were used as by-names.

With the breaking of this very tenuous link the whole identity of Hamlet (*Amlópi*) with Onela would fall and therewith essentially the whole structure which Malone has erected. There are other links that seem to me no stronger. It is in details that the work may maintain a value.

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